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**Representations of Crime, Justice, and Punishment in the  
Popular Press: A Study of the *Illustrated Police News*, 1864-1938**

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**History Department, The Open University**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**4 November 2016**





## ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the representation of crime, justice, and punishment in the popular press, with particular focus upon *The Illustrated Police News*, a weekly newspaper published between 1864 and 1938. *The Illustrated Police News*, notorious for its sensational reporting of the week's most exciting and dramatic crimes, has traditionally been dismissed as a marginal publication. The style, content, and popularity of *The Illustrated Police News* challenges the view that the cultural imagination of Victorian Britain was narrowly defined by the ideal of respectability, or that by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries popular culture had been successfully tamed.

The study employs a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of *The Illustrated Police News*, sampling the newspaper at six-year intervals throughout its seventy-four years of publication. This statistical examination of the newspaper's core components, including its illustrations, sensational reports, police court reporting, and advertisements, reveals a complex story of change, continuity, and the remaking of representations of crime. *The Illustrated Police News's* crime content continued to be shaped by the newspaper's methods of production, availability of news, and the requirements of the physical space of the page. Strikingly, wood-engravings continued to be used after the introduction of photographs in the press, and execution continued to be used as source of entertainment long after the abolition of public execution in 1868.

Alongside these continuities in content, style, and audience, there were also important changes. In response to changing working-class leisure practices, *The Illustrated Police News* increased its sporting and gambling content and altered its layout, whilst during the First World War coverage of the war almost entirely replaced crime reporting. This, along

with the noticeable continuities, show that the newspaper was actively engaged with reader demand, driven by the two main concerns of commercial viability and feasibility.

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# INTRODUCTION

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This thesis is a study of the representation of crime, justice, and punishment in the popular press during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with particular focus on *The Illustrated Police News*. *The Illustrated Police News* (1864 – 1938) was a weekly-illustrated newspaper that printed accounts of the week's most sensational crimes, tragedies, and scandals, in addition to regular updates from the police courts. Priced at a penny for the majority of its 74 years of publication, *The Illustrated Police News* (hereafter known as the *IPN*) had a large circulation across the country. It was particularly popular in the later decades of the nineteenth century, and according to an advertisers' handbook, by 1888 the circulation had reached an impressive 300,000, eclipsing the *News of the World* (100,000) and *Pictorial News* (95,000).<sup>1</sup> The newspaper continued to be printed up until 1938, long after other newspapers containing similar content ceased publication.

Despite its commercial success, this illustrated newspaper received regular criticism and opposition, which was particularly caustic during its early years. Such criticisms regarded the content and style of the *IPN*'s illustrations, reports, and advertisements as unsuitable for the reading masses and responsible for the degeneration of society.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps owing to such criticism and marginalisation, academics have largely avoided an in-depth study of the *IPN*. However, this thesis will demonstrate that the *IPN*'s content, layout, and style, combined with its continued popularity, defies the traditional periodisation of nineteenth and twentieth-century print culture (and by extension popular culture) and crime reporting. Social and cultural historians have traditionally viewed this period, in particular the decade after the emergence of the *IPN* in 1864, as a turning point with significant changes in culture, society, politics and economy. This thesis will demonstrate that whilst there were

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<sup>1</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *All the Year Round* 19 (1867-68), p. 585.

a number of changes in the *IPN*, there were a number of important continuities in the content and printing practices of the newspaper over the newspaper's 74 years of publication.

This introduction will survey existing research in these three areas, beginning first by examining studies concerning changing nineteenth-century leisure practices and popular culture, the increasing division between rough and respectable, and changing discourses about criminality. It will then turn its attention to studies of the nineteenth and twentieth-century press, and in particular crime reporting.

### **1870s: a turning point in society? Cultural and social changes**

Since the late 1960s there has been an explosion in the historical study of leisure and popular culture. Inspired by E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), a Marxist historiography emerged in the 1970s and 1980s that traced the patterns of popular culture during the period of industrialisation.<sup>3</sup> The majority of this work has been concerned with the process of the 'taming' of popular recreations in the period between c. 1790 and 1860. Since then, scholars have continued to view 1870 as a turning point in social and cultural history. It was thought that pre-nineteenth century there was an inclusive popular culture, which saw the participation of high and low. It was violent, boisterous, carnivalesque, and bawdy. Running parallel to this culture was a so-called 'customary mentality', which saw violence as a legitimate form of expression. Studies suggest that the upper classes and emerging middle class withdrew from this culture and customary mentality between c. 1780 and c. 1820, and the distance between the classes

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Bailey, *Leisure and class in Victorian England rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885* (London: Methuen, 1978); Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980); Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict*, (Brighton: Harvester, 1981); Robert Storch (ed.), *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth-Century England*, (London: Croom Helm, 1982); John Walton and James Walvin (eds.), *Leisure in Britain, 1780-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); J. Golby and A. Purdue, *The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular culture in England, 1750-1900* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984).

increased.<sup>4</sup> However, as the nineteenth century progressed the behaviour of ordinary people, and by extension, popular culture, was gradually tamed. The boisterous, carnivalesque, and violent pre-industrial popular culture inherited by the nineteenth-century working class was subject to increasing social control by evangelicalism, the new police force, the middle class and by the capitalist social order which privileged the labour process. Influenced by Norbert Elias's theory of the "civilising process", historians including John Carter Wood, have shown that such spreading notions of civility, growing acceptance of new forms of state power, increasing social interdependency and the broadening political incorporation meant that by the 1870s this civilising process had been perceived as largely successful.<sup>5</sup>

According to these studies, as part of this process of taming, there was a narrowing of the limits of what was tolerated in public and a growing suspicion of the unplanned, the unregulated, and the unlicensed.<sup>6</sup> The bawdy world of rough sports, cock fighting, bear baiting, and licentiousness disappeared, along with Regency satire, which had previously used pornographic imagery in order to mock the powerful.<sup>7</sup> Evangelical disapproval hastened the disappearance of working-class entertainments including free and easies and judge and jury shows. In place of traditional carnivals and holidays, four regular bank holidays were introduced in 1871, and a number of parks, museums, and exhibitions opened. According to this narrative, there was an increase in a number of improving leisure facilities, such as libraries and mechanics institutes, which offered 'rational

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<sup>4</sup> Robert D Storch ed., *Popular Culture and Custom in nineteenth century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 14; V.A.C.Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth Century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), p. 417; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> J. Carter Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth Century England: The Shadow of Our Refinement* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 14; J. Carter Wood, 'A Useful Savagery: The Invention of Violence in Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 9, 1 (2004): 22-42, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Robert D Storch ed., *Popular Culture and Custom in nineteenth century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832 – 1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 194-5; Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

recreation'. However, the limited success of these facilities in providing opportunities for cultural elevation have been recognised by Peter Bailey.<sup>8</sup>

Social and leisure historians have also described 1870 as a period of greater social and economic security.<sup>9</sup> Fears and anxieties about disorder had largely subsided; Chartism had been defeated, and the 1867 Reform Act had extended the franchise to more members of the working class. The working classes were becoming increasingly literate and contemporaries perceived the introduction of Forster's Education Act in 1870 as a move to address the last remaining group of illiterates. An economic boom in the 1870s, combined with the work of the trade unions, resulted in a reduction in the number of working hours and earlier Saturday closing times, leading to increased leisure time and more disposable income.<sup>10</sup> These rising living standards allowed working people the increased time and money to enjoy a new mass culture, which was free from politics. The leisure activities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, including the theatres, circuses and fairs, became commercialised, and in the later nineteenth century were replaced with music halls, professional football, horse racing and the popular press. Gareth Stedman Jones also noted that between 1870 and 1900 there was a re-making of the working class. During this period there was a decline of the earlier artisan radicalism and a largely passive acceptance of imperialism and the throne and a growing usurpation of political and educational interests by a way of a life centred on the pub, the racecourse and the Music Hall.<sup>11</sup> With the decline of Chartism, working people ceased to believe that they could shape society in their own image. The main focus of working-class people was now concentrated in trade unions, co-ops, and friendly societies, which recognised the existing social order as an

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1880* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900, Notes on a remaking of a working class, *Journal of Social History* 7 (1974), p. 486.

<sup>11</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900,': Notes on a remaking of a working class, *Journal of Social History* 7 (1974), p. 484.

inevitable framework. Like these working-class political movements, the music hall and the pub were also conservative and inward looking. Whilst they were not necessarily respectable, they also were not subversive, and offered the working classes a 'culture of consolation'.<sup>12</sup>

Studies of the representation of crime in popular culture have also highlighted 1870 as a transitional moment. Richard Altick's *Victorian Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria* (1970), the first study to investigate the Victorian fascination with murder, found that by the 1860s the representation of violence was changing in popular literature. Street literature of crime had disappeared from London and sales of broadsides had declined in favour of newspapers.<sup>13</sup> Instead of broadsides filled with a 'pittance of news' that included 'rumour and sheer invention', newspapers now presented readers with the 'latest detailed news' supplied by the resources and energies of an increasingly professional corps of journalists with expense accounts and telegraph lines at their disposal. David Vincent has also described the transition from broadside to newspaper. He argued that proprietors of weekly newspapers drew on traditions in sensational fiction, the radical unstamped press, and broadsides in order to transform news into a new category of popular culture.<sup>14</sup> These Sunday newspapers not only offered readers better value for money, but also appealed to a wider audience. Instead of one-off purchasers, who bought

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<sup>12</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on a remaking of a working class, *Journal of Social History* 7 (1974), p. 499.

<sup>13</sup> A broadside is 'a sheet of paper printed on one side only or containing one large page without columns. The term is applied to such works as copies of a "last dying speech" of some celebrated criminal, and other similar street literature'. The first boom of output of broadsides appears to be around the mid-eighteenth century, around the time of the decline of the *Accounts* of the ordinary of Newgate, before expanding further in the 1830s after the decline in executions, which focused attention on fewer cases. A typical broadside usually featured a descriptive title, a narrative in prose and a ballad in verse. It often contained a woodcut depicting either a crime or an execution. These woodcuts were often reused. The identity of the authors and the readership are difficult to discern as the authors wrote anonymously, and there is little purchasing information. Broadside were usually printed to commemorate a particular event, and were sold in mass. For more information about broadsides see: Philippe Chassaing, 'Popular Representations of Crime: the crime broadside – a subculture of violence in Victorian Britain?' *Histoire, et Sociétés* (1991), vol. 3, no. 2

<sup>14</sup> David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 252.



broad­sides to commemorate crimes and executions, newspapers attracted regular purchasers who bought them on a weekly basis.

The abolition of public execution in 1868 has been described as further evidence of the success of this civilising process. This abolition saw the removal of punishment from the public arena to a private sphere and from direct assault upon the body of the criminal to a new focus on restructuring his environment and re-orientating the mind.<sup>15</sup> V.A.C. Gatrell's study of execution between 1770 and 1868 concluded that the abolition of public execution in 1868 was a 'civilising' moment, in which execution broadsides lost their potency and subsequently execution exerted a lesser influence on popular culture.<sup>16</sup> Philippe Chassaig­ne also attributed the decline of the broadside to the abolition of public execution, after which there was a complete removal of execution from the broadsides in the Crampton Collection, which instead focused solely on the crime and the inquest.<sup>17</sup>

Crime historians have also highlighted the changes that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1870 crime rates were no longer rising, and from the late 1850s until the years before the First World War, the rate of trials for indictable or serious offences in England and Wales declined by a third, and recorded crime also fell in the same period.<sup>18</sup> By 1870, the new police force, in particular the London force, was becoming more professional and accepted by a placid working class. However, this alleged move towards respectability did not mean that the rough had disappeared. New definitions of criminality aligned with a revised understanding of the social hierarchy inserted a dividing line between the respectable and deserving poor on the one hand, and the rough,

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<sup>15</sup> M. J. Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830–1914*, (Cambridge, CUP) p, 102.

<sup>16</sup> V.A.C Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English, 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

<sup>17</sup> Philippe Chassaig­ne, 'Popular Representations of Crime: the crime broadside – a subculture of violence in Victorian Britain?', *Histoire, et Sociétés* (1991), vol. 3, no. 2, p. 26.

<sup>18</sup> V.A.C. Gatrell, *The Decline of theft and violence in Victorian and Edwardian England*, in V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Paker, pp.238-370

criminally-inclined and undeserving poor on the other. The idea of a 'criminal class', which was a common theme amongst mid-nineteenth-century writers in the 1860s, became increasingly replaced by collective theories of degeneration and social decay in the last third of the century.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, public attention gradually shifted away from a wily, professional criminal class, towards the idea of a number of hereditary influences and environmental factors that were responsible for crime. The term 'residuum' passed into common usage in the 1880s and was a term to describe the most unproductive elements of society at the bottom of society. This was not limited to criminals, and also included lunatics, alcoholics, habitual vagrants, and long-term paupers. All these categories of individual were believed to be unable to help themselves because of biological or physical degeneracy. However, these perceptions of criminality did not represent the reality. Jennifer Davis' study of the Jennings Building showed that the division between the rough and respectable was not hard and fast, and that the 'residuum' was an ideological construct rather than an identifiable group with an objective reality.<sup>20</sup>

Increasingly historians of popular culture have challenged this notion of change in the 1870s. Golby and Purdue have challenged the idea that the new mass culture was the direct result of the industrial boom of the 1870s. Instead, they contend that there was a complex and uneven modification of popular culture, which was already undergoing a process of commercialisation in the pre-industrial period. They assign more agency to the labouring classes, noting the changes made to nineteenth-century culture were brought about neither by the middle classes nor the later working classes – instead by the labouring classes themselves, who continued their cherished leisure activities or changed them as economic changes such as working hours and real wages changed. John Carter Wood,

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<sup>19</sup> Martin Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England 1830-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> Jennifer Davis, 'Jennings Buildings and the Royal Borough', in David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones eds., *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1989).

addressing some of the problems attached to ideas of a civilising process, also contested the hegemony of a single viewpoint noting that whilst a certain classes' perception may be dominant in a historical context, mentalities tend to be internally divided, rarely exist in isolation, and face competition from other ideologies. Such mentalities are rarely imposed, and more likely to be negotiated.<sup>21</sup>

Peter Bailey was critical of the portrayal of respectability as a cultural absolute that pinned the working class respectable into a 'characterological strait-jacket'. Instead he showed that respectability was a role adopted by the working classes in particular situations as a 'calculative' or instrumental ploy in relations with members of other social groups.<sup>22</sup>

Rohan McWilliams's study of the festival-like drama surrounding the Tichborne Claimant also demonstrated that Victorian respectability was more limited and situational than a permanent code of values.<sup>23</sup> Victorians were able to maintain respectability at work, in Church and on the streets but they were also able to enjoy the salacious content of Sunday newspapers and the carnivalesque celebration of this infamous trial. Leisure historian Hugh Cunningham noted that in adopting the tool of 'rough and respectable' to describe social reality, historians have confused the history of moral fears with the history of lived experience.<sup>24</sup> Boundaries of class, gender, age, and geography were likely to be reproduced in leisure, and leisure activities may themselves have reinforced or shifted these boundaries, not merely passively reflected them.<sup>25</sup> Whilst ending in 1870, Rosalind Crone's study of popular violent entertainments in nineteenth-century London also showed

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<sup>21</sup> John Carter Wood, 'The Process of Civilization (and its Discontents): Violence, Narrative and History', in *Discourses of Violence – Violence of Discourses: Critical Interventions, Transgressive Readings and Post-National Negotiations*, ed. Dirk Wiemann, Agata Stopinska, Anke Bartels and Johannes Angermüller (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2005): 117-28, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Bailey, "'Will the real Bill Banks please stand up?'" Towards a role analysis of mid-Victorian Working Class Respectability', *Journal of Social History* 12 (1979), pp.336-353.

<sup>23</sup> Rohan McWilliam, *The Tichborne Claimant: A Victorian Sensation* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 193; Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 32.

<sup>24</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780–1880* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980), p. 290.

<sup>25</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 1780–1880* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980), p. 336.

the complex relationship between change and continuity. She demonstrated that 1870 signalled a moment of change, with the disappearance of ‘penny bloods’, the working class desertion popular theatres, the removal of execution from popular view, and the subsequent decline in the broadside trade.<sup>26</sup> Alongside these changes there emerged a mass, commercial leisure industry that allegedly sought to appeal to larger audiences and maintain profits by removing violence from many entertainments.<sup>27</sup> Despite recognising these important changes, Crone noted that this was not a story of declining popular entertainments. Popular entertainments did not decline or disappear, but rather were appropriated, repopulating mainstream culture alongside the violent pastimes.

The emergence and popularity of the *Illustrated Police News* sits uncomfortably with narratives of Victorian ‘respectability’ and a tamer, more civilised society that was allegedly now free of the boisterous, carnivalesque popular culture of the early nineteenth century. This thesis will contribute to the debate about popular culture and argue for further interrogation of the concepts of ‘respectability’ and ‘civilisation’.

### **Changes in the newspaper press**

Arguments about change and continuity permeate all aspects of the historiography of nineteenth-century society and culture, including media history. Early histories of the development of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century press have tended to provide a progressive ‘Whig’ account of the chronology. Despite this interest in the development of the press, there have been very few studies that straddle both the nineteenth and twentieth century to test concepts of continuity and change. The periodisation which divides the two

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<sup>26</sup> ‘Penny bloods’ was the original name for the booklets that were renamed penny dreadfuls in 1860s. They told stories of adventure, in particular pirates and highwaymen, before later concentrating on crime and detection. These booklets were issued weekly and were usually eight and occasionally 16 pages in length. The top half of the front page contained a black and white illustration, with double columns of text filling the rest of the booklet.

<sup>27</sup> *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.

centuries assumes (and argues for) change. According to these accounts, during the 1880s there was a complete break with past reporting styles, ushering in a 'New Journalism'. The phrase 'New Journalism', which gained widespread usage in 1887 following the publication of an article by Matthew Arnold, was used to describe a series of perceived typographical and textual innovations that transformed the British press in the late nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> For Arnold, New Journalism, and in particular its flagship, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, presented a challenge to the mid-nineteenth-century daily newspaper's authority and political integrity. The New Journalism, he wrote, 'is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; [but] its one great fault is that it is featherbrained'.<sup>29</sup> Historians have used Arnold's references to the *Pall Mall Gazette* and W. T. Stead's 'The Maiden Tribute' as evidence of the emergence of New Journalism based on sensationalism, which encouraged the democratisation of news.<sup>30</sup> This saw the removal of politics, and an increased focus on crime, sport, scandal, and sex. According to Aled Jones, this period of 'New Journalism' was characterised by its decreasing concern for respectability, combined with the pursuit of profit by reporters, editors and proprietors.<sup>31</sup> This sits uncomfortably with the narratives of a popular culture that was increasingly subjected to a taming process during the same period, suggesting the need for a further examination of respectability.

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<sup>28</sup> Whilst the origin of the phrase 'New Journalism' is conventionally traced to Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, May 1887, pp. 629–43, there were at least three references to New Journalism before Matthew Arnold: 'Political Tipstering', *World*, 18 June 1884, p. 5, where an attack on the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s reporting of British strategy in Sudan features an ironic reference to 'the spirited policy of the new journalism'; W. T. Stead, 'The Future of Journalism', *Contemporary Review*, November 1886, pp. 663–79 (p. 677), where New Journalism is used to refer positively to potential rather than actual professional practice; and 'The Old Journalists and the New', *Saturday Review*, 23 April 1887, pp. 578–79 (p. 579), where, as indicated in the title, the noun phrase occurs in concrete rather than abstract form, although it is discussed positively.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Arnold, 'Up to Easter', *Nineteenth Century*, CXXIII, May 1887, pp. 638–39;

<sup>30</sup> R. Boston, 'W.T. Stead and democracy by journalism', in Wiener J. (ed.), *Papers for the millions: the New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (New York: Greenwood, 1988); K. Campbell, 'W.E. Gladstone, W.T. Stead, Matthew Arnold and a New Journalism: cultural politics in the 1880s', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 36 (2003) pp. 20–40; Mark Hampton, *Visions of the press in Britain, 1850–1950* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Mark Freeman & Gillian Nelson, *Vicarious Vagrants: Incognito Social Explorers and the Homeless in England, 1860–1910* (Lambertville, NJ: The True Bill Press, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Aled Jones, *Powers of the press: newspapers, power and the public in nineteenth-century England* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 137.

Since these preliminary debates, these late nineteenth-century developments have traditionally been folded into the same grand narratives of progress, change and expansion. The studies that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s tended to present the apparently ‘factual’ realities of the New Journalism, noting the changing form of print culture and attaching these changes to a chronology. For example, Alan Lee, studying the popular press between 1855 and 1914, argued that legislative changes – including the reduction of the newspaper tax in 1836, its abolition in 1855, and the removal of paper duty in 1861 – led to a ‘golden age’ of penny press in the 1850s and 1860s, but that this was overtaken by New Journalism and the domination of profit in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>32</sup> Alan Lee, along with other subscribers to the thesis of New Journalism, including R. C. K. Ensor and F. R. Leavis, have often overlooked anomalous print forms and failed to consider the ways in which certain continuities in print culture persisted.<sup>33</sup>

Since the 1980s, a more nuanced understanding of the concept of New Journalism has emerged. Joel Wiener provided one of the first criticisms of the concept of a completely ‘new’ journalism.<sup>34</sup> Whilst recognising key changes in the newspaper press that marked a break with the past, including an altered visual appearance, changes in content, less space for leaders, a brighter style, shorter articles, and above all an increased commercialisation, Wiener noted that many of these changes were not as new or abrupt as had previously been assumed. The importance of developments in the radical and popular press from the 1830s, the rise of the mid-Victorian Sunday newspapers, changes in popular culture and cheap fiction, and more generally, the expansion of the press after the abolition of the

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<sup>32</sup> Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

<sup>33</sup> R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936); F. R. Leavis, *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (Cambridge: Minority Press, 1930).

<sup>34</sup> Joel H. Wiener, ‘How new was New Journalism’, in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s–1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 50.

‘taxes on knowledge’ and the expansion of education were all cited by Wiener as integral to the late nineteenth-century changes in print culture.<sup>35</sup>

Many of the central arguments of New Journalism have since been more closely investigated and challenged. Laurel Brake argued that many of the structural innovations in newspaper writing, layout, production, and marketing, as well as the changes in language and content associated with New Journalism, were already present in the periodical press and earlier newspapers.<sup>36</sup> The periodical press also employed a number of techniques credited to New Journalism, including a personal writing style, the celebrity interview, and the signature. The concept of the ‘celebrity’ was not a product of ‘New Journalism’, and figures considered newsworthy, including political heroes, criminals, actors and singers were household names in the mid-century, thanks to the periodical press and newspapers. Historians have shown the rise of a popular, commercial press from the 1840s and 1850s, with the emergence of the Sunday press. As early as 1961 Raymond Williams argued that the expansion of the popular press was a period of ‘long revolution’, with the commercial successes of newspaper proprietors George Reynolds and Edward Lloyd in the 1850s and 1860s pre-dating New Journalism.<sup>37</sup> Aimed at a working and lower middle-class audience, their Sunday newspapers incorporated the popular traditions from the broadside trade, in particular in their coverage of crime and execution.

Mark Hampton’s study of the press between 1850 and 1950 provided a more nuanced explanation of the late nineteenth-century press, showing how old and new types of journalism ran in tandem during the period. The increased number of printed titles,

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<sup>35</sup> Joel H. Wiener, ‘How new was New Journalism’, in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s-1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 58-60; Wiener expanded these ideas in his 2010 book, *The Americanisation of the British Press*:

<sup>36</sup> Laurel Brake, ‘The Old Journalism and the New: Forms of Cultural Production in London in the 1880s’, in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s-1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 1-24.

<sup>37</sup> Raymond Williams, *Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), p. 176.

combined with increases in the physical size and pagination of newspapers meant that there was more of everything, and one form did not simply replace another.<sup>38</sup> This thesis, through its study of the *IPN*, a newspaper which displayed many of the changes associated with New Journalism alongside the older printed techniques associated with earlier forms of print culture such as execution broadsheets, will further interrogate the concept of New Journalism, and the changing nature of the nineteenth-century press.

Crime and sensation have been regarded as central components of this 'New Journalism'. According to Darren Oldridge, newspaper coverage of the Whitechapel murders coincided with the emergence of 'New Journalism', characterised by its emphasis on crime and 'sensation', and the willingness of newspapers to campaign on themes deemed important to their readers.<sup>39</sup> *The Star* was first guaranteed its success in the popular evening market during 1888 as a result of its sensational coverage of the Jack the Ripper murders.<sup>40</sup> However, Lee Perry Curtis's study of the Whitechapel murders found that although the killings began little more than a year after Arnold's 'feather-brained' 'New Journalism' remark, coverage of the crimes did not signal the emergence of a new popular press and its divergence from elite papers. Rather, sensational crime news was delivered to readers long before the 1880s, in the form of the *Perfect Diurnall*, Restoration broadsides and pamphlets, the Newgate Calendar, 'penny dreadfuls' and 'shilling shockers', and the weekly illustrated magazines of the 1850s. This supports the work of scholars alluded to above, including Joel Wiener, Laurel Brake, and Rosalind Crone, who have argued for continuity rather than rupture in the nineteenth-century press and popular culture. Curtis also contends that although the different newspapers may have varied in their language and the amount of space devoted to reporting, purportedly respectable and elite newspapers

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<sup>38</sup> Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950* (Chicago, IL, 2004).

<sup>39</sup> Darren Oldridge, 'Casting the spell of terror: the press and the early Whitechapel murders', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis eds. *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History* (Manchester: MUP, 2007), p. 47.

<sup>40</sup> J. H. Wiener, *Papers for the Millions : The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914, Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications* No.13 (New York, NY; London: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 54.



like *The Times* offered just as many sensationalist details as popular Sunday papers.<sup>41</sup> The roots of late nineteenth-century crime reporting can be found in the Sunday newspaper, in addition to broadside news-sheets, chapbooks and ballads.<sup>42</sup>

Mirroring the development of 'New Journalism', the word 'sensationalism' was invented in the nineteenth century as a pejorative term to criticise works of literature and journalism that aimed to arouse strong emotional reactions in the public.<sup>43</sup> In the nineteenth century the term sensation came to refer to the excited or violent emotion felt by an entire community, which was produced by a common experience. The 1860s has been described as the decade of the 'sensation novel' and the 'sensation play'.<sup>44</sup> The genre of sensation was criticised by contemporaries as pure commercialism with little literary value. Joy Wiltenburg's article about the relationship between crime and sensation has argued that dismissing sensational reports of crimes as merely a selling device misses the value of these reports, which were in fact a cultural construct, not least in the way these representations were received and perceived by readers. Specific studies examining the representation of violence in newspaper reporting make reference to the use of sensation in reporting. Elizabeth Stanko's analysis of regional weekly newspapers from Manchester and Liverpool between 1850 and 1914 asserted that as the nineteenth century progressed, the short concise headlines of the early nineteenth century were replaced with fuller, more sensational headlines. Stanko asserted that the language used in these advertisements became more varied over time, reflecting in part, the growth and popularity of sensational fiction.<sup>45</sup> However, the value of 'sensation' has tended to be dismissed by historians based

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<sup>41</sup> L Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 67.

<sup>42</sup> There have been a number of studies into the Sunday newspaper, the most notable of which was Virginia Berridge's thesis, "Popular Journalism and Working Class Attitudes, 1854-1886: A Study of *Reynold's Newspaper*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the *Weekly Times*".

<sup>43</sup> Joy Wiltenburg, *True Crime: The Origins of Modern Sensationalism*, p. 1378

<sup>44</sup> Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (London: Anthem Press, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Stanko, 'Headlines from History: Violence in the Press 1850-1914, *The Meanings of Violence*, eds. John Archer and Jo Jones (London: Routledge, 2003).

on the fact that its primary purpose was commercial success, achieved by appealing to a basic and depraved taste for gore.

These changes in the press continued at the turn of the twentieth century, with a move towards a more commercialised press. There have been fewer surveys of the early twentieth-century press, and they tend not to present the grand narratives and overarching arguments laid out by the historians of the nineteenth-century press. Joel Wiener asserted that from the 1880s onwards ‘profits replaced ideas as the motor force of the new industry of journalism’.<sup>46</sup> These studies showed that in addition to crime news, other types of events and interests were identified as news and competing for space and coverage.<sup>47</sup> For example, while the coverage of crime remained a source of profit, it was no longer identified as the key guarantor of regular sales for all titles and all classes.<sup>48</sup> Studies of the early twentieth-century press dwell on the importance of ‘human interest’ in driving reporting.<sup>49</sup> The twentieth-century tabloid papers like the *Daily Mirror* introduced new content subdivision, which sought to appeal to human interest, such as “Today’s reflections”, “Court Circular”, “Latest Intelligence”, “Today’s News at a Glance” instead of the more serious sub-divisions, such as political, police, and law courts.<sup>50</sup>

Studies of the twentieth-century press tend to concentrate on the rise of the tabloid newspaper with particular focus upon the role of individuals in transforming the press. The central role played by Alfred Harmsworth and the *Daily Mail* in redefining newspaper content and providing reading material for the aspirational lower classes is frequently

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<sup>46</sup> J. Wiener (ed.) *Papers for the Millions*, p. xxii

<sup>47</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 84.

<sup>48</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 85.

<sup>49</sup> For more information about the role of ‘human interest’ in Twentieth-Century reporting, see: A. Bingham, *Family Newspapers? Sex, Private Life, and the British Popular Press, 1918-1978* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 87.

stressed.<sup>51</sup> These studies also demonstrate how this era, with its focus upon profit, saw the beginning of the newspaper using branded advertising to generate income and finances. Development and progress was also made in the introduction of the rapid rotary printing of half-tone photographs, which resulted in the birth of the photographic press with the publication of the *Daily Mirror* in 1904. Newspaper proprietors and editors were eager to create more visually attractive publications.<sup>52</sup> The introduction of the photograph also had a significant impact on the layout of the newspaper. Prominent headlines, cross-headers and articles were broken by photographs, cartoons, and illustrated advertisements. There was also a reduction in the number of words per issue.<sup>53</sup>

## **Crime Reporting**

The emergence and growth of this mass, commercial press has been closely linked to the rise of modern crime reporting. Whilst the reporting of murder, assaults, robberies and petty thefts was common practice in the metropolitan and provincial newspapers of the eighteenth century, it was during the nineteenth century that crime reporting expanded. The character of crime reporting was closely related to the growth of the press throughout the nineteenth century. By the last third of the century, the newspaper had become the dominant form of print culture, replacing and incorporating earlier broadsides and street literature, and thus becoming almost the sole location for the dissemination of news about crime for all social classes.

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<sup>51</sup> Adrian Bingham, 'Putting literature out of reach'? Reading Popular Newspapers in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain' in *The History of Reading: Evidence from the British Isles, c.1750-1950*, volume 2 eds. Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 2011), p. 142

<sup>52</sup> Adrian Bingham, 'Putting literature out of reach'? Reading Popular Newspapers in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain' in *The History of Reading: Evidence from the British Isles, c.1750-1950*, volume 2 eds. Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 2011), p. 144.

<sup>53</sup> Adrian Bingham, 'Putting literature out of reach'? Reading Popular Newspapers in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain' in *The History of Reading: Evidence from the British Isles, c.1750-1950*, volume 2 eds. Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 2011), p. 145.

There are few studies which cover the changing representations of crime in the popular press across the nineteenth and twentieth century as a whole. The exception is Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson and Samantha Pegg's *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010*, which has provided a broad survey of the press between 1820 and 1950. It argues that crime reporting changed in the twentieth century, with the decline of the nineteenth-century practice of court reporting written by legal specialists, and an increasing focus upon police investigations and sensational rather than legal stories. The shift in the emphasis of reporting during the First World War led to the further decline of crime reporting, since there was no longer an expectation from editors or journalists that crime would provide the sensationally entertaining news that attracted and kept readers.<sup>54</sup>

Scholars have typically focused on the effect of the First World War upon crime reporting, and the discourses of crime presented in the interwar press.<sup>55</sup> These studies focus on the 'discourses' of crime and the creation of narratives surrounding crime, often focusing on the role of gender in shaping them and broader perspectives of justice and national well-being. Clive Emsley's study of the impact of the war upon representations of violent crime in the post-war press found that the returning war veteran was not the subject of a moral panic surrounding the brutalising effect of war, as might be expected. Everyone wanted to

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<sup>54</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg eds., *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), p. 133.

<sup>55</sup> Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013; Alyson Brown, "The Amazing Mutiny at the Dartmoor Convict Prison", *British Journal of Criminology* 47, no 2 (2007), 276-292; Brown, Alyson, "Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders in Early Twentieth-century Britain", *Contemporary British History* 25, no 4 (2011), 552-568; Andrew Davies, "The Scottish Chicago: From 'Hooligans' to 'Gangsters' in Interwar Glasgow", *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 4 (2007): 511-527; Matt Houlbrook, "Commodifying the Self Within: Ghosts, Libels, and the Crook Life Story in Interwar Britain", *Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 2 (2013): 321-363; Matt Houlbrook, "Fashioning an Ex-Crook Self: Citizenship and Criminality in the Work of Netley Lucas", *Twentieth Century British History* 24, no 1 (2013), 1-20; Lizzie Seal, "Discourses of Single Women Accused of Murder: Mid Twentieth-Century Constructions of 'Lesbians' and 'Spinsters'", *Women's Studies International Forum* 32, no 3 (2009): 209-218; Heather Shore, "'Constable Dances with Instructress': The Police and the Queen of Nightclubs in Inter-war London", *Social History* 38, no 2 (2013): 183-202; Heather Shore, "Rogues of the Racecourse", *Media History* 20, no 4 (2014): 352-367; Wood, John Carter, *The Most Remarkable Woman in England: Poison, Celebrity and the Trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); John Carter Wood, "'The Third Degree': Press Reporting, Crime Fiction and Police Powers in 1920s Britain", *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no 4 (2010): 464-485.

claim the returning heroes of the war as their own and there was no interest in sensationalising a new folk devil in the form of the brutalised veteran, showing the role of the audience in creating a moral panic.<sup>56</sup> The disruptive effect of the war upon gender norms was evident in the post-war efforts to re-establish more traditional ideas, resulting in the increasing press attention on female criminality.<sup>57</sup> Some studies have shown how Britain saw an increased fear of ‘new’ criminals, which included gangsters, motor bandits, razor gangs and war veterans with fewer scruples about using violence.<sup>58</sup> Alyson Brown has noted that during the decade after the First World War the “motor-bandit” and the “smash and grab” raiders were presented as new, “modern”, and more threatening, ruthless and calculating than criminals had previously been presented.<sup>59</sup> Heather Shore’s study of the Racing men and the press in interwar Britain demonstrated the existence of fears about alien criminality, terrorism, and armed criminals, and increasing newspaper coverage of the eruption of racketeering, protection, and gambling-related crime, which sometimes involved the use of razors or other lethal weapons.<sup>60</sup> One element of my thesis will explore the impact that the First World War had upon the reporting of crime during the war, in addition to the representation of violence in the *Illustrated Police News* post-war period. It will assess whether the *IPN* adopted the same reporting techniques of newspapers like the *News of the World*, which chose to focus upon the more sensational tales of bigamy and divorce in place of the more sombre tales of shellshock.

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<sup>56</sup> Clive Emsley, Violent crime in England in 1919: post-war anxieties and press narratives, *Continuity and Change* 23(1) pp. 173–195, p. 190.

<sup>57</sup> Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013; Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin de Siecle Paris* (Stanford: CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Jessie Ramey, “The Bloody Blonde and the Marble Woman: Gender and Power in the Case of Ruth Snyder”, *Journal of Social History* 37, no 3 (2004), pp 625-650; April Miller, “Bloody Blondes and Bobbed Hair Bandits: Constructing Celebrity Criminals in the 1920s Popular Press”, in *In the Limelight and under the Microscope: Forms and Functions of Female Celebrity*, edited by Su Holmes and Diane Negra, 61-81 (London: Continuum, 2011), John Carter Wood, *The Most Remarkable Woman in England: Poison, Celebrity and the Trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

<sup>58</sup> Clive Emsley, *Hard Men* (London: Hambledon Press, 2005), p. 19-22; Alyson Brown, “Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders in Early Twentieth-century Britain”, *Contemporary British History* 25, no 4 (2011), 552-568.

<sup>59</sup> Alyson Brown, “Crime, Criminal Mobility and Serial Offenders in Early Twentieth-century Britain”, *Contemporary British History* 25, no 4 (2011), p. 563.

<sup>60</sup> Heather Shore, ‘Rogues of the Racecourse: Racing men and the press in interwar Britain’, *Media History* 2014, vol 20, no 4, 352-367, p. 352.

Studies have shown that despite the focus upon ‘new criminals’ and the rise of the concept of ‘organised crime’, there was much continuity in the reporting of crime during the inter-war period. There was a continuation and expansion of many of the reporting techniques pioneered in the nineteenth century and pre-war period, which included ‘verbatim transcripts of testimony, pen portraits of courtroom dramas, sensationalised human interest articles’. Scientific and psychological criminological discourse continued to influence the popular press.<sup>61</sup> Pre-war arguments and ideas concerning environment and heredity continued to be discussed by practitioners of criminology after the war. The science of psychiatry continued to develop, and in these news reports (as in the English Courts) the term shell-shock began to be used as a new form of defence.<sup>62</sup>

Murder continued to capture the interest of the reading public in the twentieth century, despite the need to compete with a greater number of types of news stories for inclusion in the newspaper. In his essay, ‘The Decline of English Murder’, George Orwell deemed the great period in murder as roughly between 1850 and 1925, highlighting a number of murders that captured the public’s imagination.<sup>63</sup> John Carter Wood’s work on the coverage of the Beatrice Pace case in 1928 similarly demonstrated the crucial role played by murder in creating sensational crime narratives and establishing a celebrity culture in the inter-war period. Whilst the media interest in the case and the use of the trial reporting was not new (and had been a popular feature of crime reporting since the mid-nineteenth century), the Pace case was unusual in its universally positive newspaper coverage. In his analysis of the wider social and cultural implications of the case, Carter Wood asserts that

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<sup>61</sup>Haia Shpayer-Makov, *The Ascent of the Detective: Police Sleuths in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>62</sup> Clive Emsley; Ted Bogacz, in ‘War neurosis and cultural change in England, 1914-22: the work of the War Office Committee of Enquiry into “shell-shock”’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, 2 (1989), 227-56 (p. 235).

<sup>63</sup> George Orwell, *The Decline of the English Murder* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), p. 15-16. reprinted from ‘The Decline of the English Murder’ first published in *Tribune*, 15 February 1945),

the Pace case demonstrates that the 1920s and 1930s was the ‘golden age for press spectacles’, owing to rising literacy rates and developments.<sup>64</sup>

Given the central role played by crime illustration in the success of Herbert Ingram’s *Illustrated London News*, and the very important influence of the old broadside tradition in shaping the emergence of the illustrated journal, a detailed study of the ways in which crime, criminals, and the judicial process were visually illustrated would be beneficial. There have been two European studies, looking at Vienna and Paris, which have begun to address these questions, although a similar study has yet to be undertaken for Great Britain. Dan Vyleta’s study of the cultural history of crime and anti-Semitism offered a thorough assessment of the illustration of criminals and court cases in early twentieth-century Viennese newspapers. His research, which focused on a number of case studies including the Klein murder trial, highlighted the centrality of the front-page illustration in the sale of the newspaper. Most importantly, his research concluded that the graphic illustration provided the reader with a sense of ‘having been there’. The newspapers presented a range of different images and perspectives, which allowed the reader to experience a number of different perspectives and attendant roles. First, they allowed the reader to participate in the drama as an invisible witness; second, they provided access to insider details barely visible for the normal observer (taking a detective gaze); and third, they enabled a sociologist’s perspective of studying a crowd.<sup>65</sup> The importance of the illustration of crowd scenes has been similarly recognised in Greg Shaya’s study of the creation of news in France, c. 1860-1910. His research asserted that the street-crowd scenes in newspapers operated as a metaphor for the French mass public. According to Shaya this allowed the newspaper to suggest that it was speaking for the public. Both Shaya’s and Vyleta’s studies offer unique perspectives on the visual presentation of crime,

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<sup>64</sup> Carter Wood, “*The Most Remarkable Woman in England*”: *Poison, celebrity and the trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 68.

<sup>65</sup> Dan Vyleta, *Crime, Jews and News* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 79.

which gives further insight into the way in which crime reporting shaped ‘mentalites’ of crime. There is scope for future research into British illustration and there is the opportunity to compare British crime illustrations with these European examples.

The function and role of crime reporting has been a topic of study for a number of historians of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century newspapers. Historians have increasingly used newspapers as a window on ordinary perceptions of crime and justice. Crime news is recognised by both social theorists and historians, including Lee Perry Curtis, as both a ‘social and cultural construct assembled by reporters who both influence and are influenced by the standards of approved behaviour’, that is able to translate fantasy into reality.<sup>66</sup> Rob Sindall and V.A.C. Gatrell have both noted that there was no relationship between the quantity of crime news in crime reporting and the amount of crime reflected in the official crime statistics.<sup>67</sup> Their research into both Victorian and Edwardian violence and media found that despite its statistical insignificance, the crime most likely to be reported was murder. Whilst people were concerned about homicide throughout the nineteenth century, it was never a statistically significant offence. Moreover, although there probably was a gradual decline in the quantity of theft and violence from 1842, there was a proliferation of ‘press activity on both subjects’.<sup>68</sup> These stories about brutal crimes had more than just an entertainment value, for according to Steve Chibnall they ‘foster generalised anxieties, and feed fears of an impending breakdown of order’.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Jack the Ripper & the London Press* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century : Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990). P. 32.

<sup>68</sup> Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century : Media Panic or Real Danger?*, p. 6; V. A. C. Gatrell, "The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England 1837-1914," *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500*, eds. V. A. C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker (London: 1980); Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900.*, p. 32.

<sup>69</sup> Steve Chibnall, *Law-and-Order News : An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977).



Since its emergence out of late 1960s social reaction theory, a number of historians and criminologists have used the concept of ‘moral panics’ in their discussion of crime reporting. Early theorists including Stanley Cohen and Jock Young identified a moral panic as a cycle of events during which a condition, an episode, or a group of persons becomes defined as a threat to societal values, with this threat then exaggerated by the media, in turn making the public, press, and authorities increasingly aware of the threat. Cohen and Young suggested that while the panic sometimes passes over quickly and is forgotten, at other times there are more serious and long-lasting repercussions, including changes to legal and social policy.<sup>70</sup> Jennifer Davis’ study of the London garrotting panic of 1862 demonstrated the way in which press reporting could create a fear of a breakdown of order. During a period of debate and uncertainty about crime and penal policy, just one event – the ‘garrotting’ (i.e. robbery featuring unprovoked assault, not actual garrotting) of an MP – triggered a wave of newspaper reporting that had legal and social repercussions.<sup>71</sup> Peter King’s comparative study of moral panics about violent crime between 1750 and 2000 found that the moral panics he studied had a similar timing, duration and cycle – arriving at the same time of year and lasted for almost an identical amount of time. Whilst sometimes expressing or coinciding with free-floating anxieties arising during periods of social crisis or rapid social change, these conditions were not essential for the development of moral panics about violent street crime.<sup>72</sup>

Beth Kalikoff has suggested that newspaper representations of crime could be cathartic. By showing criminals being punished with the same violence that had characterised their attack on legal, sexual, and moral authority, readers were provided with a melodramatic

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<sup>70</sup> Stanley Cohen, *Folk devils & moral panics: the creation of the mods and rockers* (London: Granada Publishing, 1972); Jock Young and Stanley Cohen, *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media (Communication and Society)* (London: Constable, 1973).

<sup>71</sup> Jennifer Davis, "Jennings' Buildings and the Royal Borough: The Construction of the Underclass in Mid-Victorian England," *History Workshop Journal* 27 (Spring 1989).

<sup>72</sup> Peter King, 'Moral panics and violent street crime 1750-2000: A comparative perspective' in *Comparative Histories of Crime*, ed. by Barry Godfrey, Clive Emsley, and Graeme Dunstall (Cullompton: Wilan Publishing, 2003), p. 61, p. 68.

catharsis.<sup>73</sup> Rosalind Crone's study of the nineteenth-century press showed that broadside and newspaper representations of crime and violence provided a form of entertainment, which did not threaten readers. The 'entertainment' function of crime reporting is a theme which has continued throughout all subsequent studies of the Victorian and early twentieth-century crime reporting, and is still a relevant topic of study today.

Although the *IPN* has not been the subject of extensive academic study, it has received attention from several books intended for a popular audience. Its striking front-cover illustrations have been the stimulus for two anthology-style books. Leonard de Vries, *'Orrible Murder* (1971) and Steve Jones, *The Illustrated Police News* (2002) both reproduced a collection of the most graphic, gruesome, or entertaining illustrations printed in the newspaper and their accompanying reports. Linda Stratmann's book, *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities: The Illustrated Police News 1864-1938*, is the first book to move beyond simply reproducing images from the newspaper. Published by the British Library, Stratmann's work operates as a useful stepping-stone between the popular anthology-style treatment of the *IPN* and a fuller academic study. In addition to printing high quality reproductions of some of the most sensational or entertaining illustrations, her book also provides an overview of the publishing history and content, style, and format of the *IPN*. Her work begins to explore how the *IPN* fits with established narratives of nineteenth-century print culture. In particular she considers the relationship between the *IPN* and 'New Journalism', a term which she says 'exactly describes the content of the *IPN*', even before the term was coined. However, there remains an opportunity to consider more closely the relationship between the *IPN* and continuity in the print culture and messages about crime.<sup>74</sup> The British Library's inclusion of the *IPN* in its *Nineteenth*

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<sup>73</sup> Beth Kalikoff, *Murder and Moral Decay in Victorian Popular Literature* (1986), p. 17, qu. in M. J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> Linda Stratmann, *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities: The Illustrated Police News 1864-1938* (London: British Library, 2011).

*Century British Newspapers Online Collection* in 2007 has increased interest in the publication, and historians of the nineteenth century have increasingly used its illustrations in their research. Studies by Suzanne Rintoul and Lois Bibbings have provided valuable insights into the *IPN*'s representation of violent crime, in particular the class and gender dimensions of depictions of domestic violence and sexual violence.<sup>75</sup> Studies about the Whitechapel murders and the East End of London during this period, including those by L. Perry Curtis and Drew Gray, have also revealed much about the *IPN*'s pictorial sensation.<sup>76</sup> A number of studies of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century press, including the work of Judith Rowbotham and Kim Stevenson have illuminated key aspects of the *IPN*'s crime reporting and criminal intelligence.<sup>77</sup> However, these studies have continued to relegate the *IPN* to the margins and have yet to provide the detailed and serious analysis of the *IPN* called for by Rosalind Crone in her 2009 review of digital resources available to historians of crime. This thesis supports Crone's claim that the division between high and low Victorian culture was less clearly demarcated than has been previously thought.<sup>78</sup> Thus, this thesis marks a significant departure from previous accounts of the *IPN*. Instead of trying to squeeze this perceived anomaly into existing historical frameworks describing Victorian and early twentieth-century culture and print culture, the following chapters will take the *IPN* as a starting point, using this significant and widely circulated publication to further our understanding of the press.

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<sup>75</sup> Suzanne Rintoul, *Studies of women's Intimate Violence and Victorian Print Culture: Representational Tensions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Lois Bibbings, *Binding Men: Stories about violence and law in Late Victorian England* (London: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>76</sup> L Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (London: Yale University Press, 2001); Drew Gray, *London's Shadows: The Dark Side of the Victorian City* (London: Continuum Books, 2010).

<sup>77</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson eds., *Criminal Conversations: Victorian Crimes, Social Panic, and Moral Outrage* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005); Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>78</sup> Rosalind Crone, 'Digital Forum: Crime – and its fabrication. A Review of New Digital Resources in the History of Crime', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Spring 2009, vol 14 issue 1, 125-134, p. 131.

## Sources and Method

This study analyses *The Illustrated Police News* over a period of seventy-four years between 1864 and 1938, focusing specifically on its representation of crime, justice, and punishment. The study has a number of aims. First, to examine the newspaper's content, reporting styles, illustrations and advertisements, in order to develop our understanding of the popular press and the relationship between the 'old' and 'new' forms of print culture, and whether the intended audiences for these publications remained the same. Second, to conduct a content analysis of the newspaper's messages about crime, justice, and punishment. This will provide an insight into whether the newspaper displayed changing attitudes towards crime, justice, and punishment throughout the period of study, and whether these representations accorded with either reality or contemporary perceptions. By addressing these areas, this thesis will form a more detailed understanding of the role of crime reporting in the popular press at a crucial period of change.

The study focuses on one newspaper, *The Illustrated Police News*, (*IPN*) and uses it as a model for a study of working-class entertainments. As described above, the *IPN* was first published on 20 February 1864, and was sold weekly until it ceased publication on 3 March 1938. In its place a new publication emerged, entitled the *Sporting Record* (1938-1979). The *IPN* was selected for study for a number of reasons. Printed from 1864 to 1938, the long duration of the *IPN* suggests the commercial success of the newspaper, which outlived a number of its competitors, including *The Illustrated Police Budget* (1893-1910). The *IPN's* longevity also allows for a long-term chronological study of changes in the press between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The thesis will fill a gap in the existing historiography, offering a study of a newspaper that straddles the nineteenth and twentieth century, to test concepts of change and continuity. It will explore the emergence and expansion of the *IPN* during a period that has been identified by the historiography as one of great change, and remaking of working-class culture, in particular

the decline of broadsheets and street literature, the rise of the newspaper, and the emergence of 'New Journalism'.

### **Definitions of crime, justice, and punishment**

The quantitative and qualitative studies used in this thesis focus on the representations of crime, justice, and punishment. It is therefore important to establish definitions of crime, justice and punishment. There are very few agreed definitions of crime. Clive Emsley has noted that the important starting point for any history of crime has to be the recognition that crime is not an absolute. All societies have norms and develop ways to enforce them.<sup>79</sup> V.A.C. Gatrell has emphasised that the history of crime is not about crime, but rather power, meaning that the 'crime' which characterises a society is actually only that degree of unlawful activity which law makers and enforcers perceive through their own social prejudices, interests and assumptions'.<sup>80</sup> Consequently, crime rates in the nineteenth century tell us just as much about improving recordkeeping and enforcement as they do about 'real' crime. The most straightforward definition describes crime as behaviour which violates the criminal law, and if detected, 'would lead to prosecution in a court of law or summarily before an accredited agent of law enforcement'.<sup>81</sup>

The thesis uses the term justice as shorthand for 'criminal justice system'. The criminal justice system refers to a series of institutions and organisations that enforced the law. The 'modern' criminal justice system emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the emergence of the adversarial criminal trial, and the creation of professional police forces.<sup>82</sup> At the centre of the Victorian and early twentieth-century criminal justice system stood the courts of law, which played a key role establishing and maintaining the

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<sup>79</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth-Century England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011), p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> V. A. C. Gatrell, "Crime, Authority and the Policeman State," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 246.

<sup>81</sup> J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1996), p. 6.

<sup>82</sup> David Taylor, *Hooligans, Harlots, and Hangmen: Crime and Punishment* (Oxford: Praeger, 2010), p. 2.

legitimacy of the criminal justice system.<sup>83</sup> During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there were three kinds of courts at which criminals might be tried. At the lowest level there were the petty sessions, which were often commonly known as police courts, where the magistrates might have an initial hearing to determine whether the case was serious enough to be passed onto a higher court, and deal with it if it was not. These courts also had the power to convict summarily. This power increased over the nineteenth century making these courts even more important. The second type of court was the provincial Quarter Sessions, which were presided over by magistrates and met four times a year. The most serious cases were heard before judges at the Assizes which met two, three or four times a year, and in London such cases were heard before the Central Criminal Court (popularly known as the Old Bailey), which usually had twelve sessions a year.<sup>84</sup> Studies have shown that during the nineteenth century there was a shift away from bodily punishments (including corporal punishment, the death penalty, and transportation), which were replaced by imprisonment as the primary sanction for serious offences to incarceration.<sup>85</sup> Clive Emsley noted that in the space of 100 years, a custodial sentence had become virtually the only punishment that the courts could award. Fines continued to be imposed, but with the condition that failure to pay would lead to imprisonment.<sup>86</sup> Despite this alleged move away from the spectacular punishment of execution, this punishment continued to receive regular attention in the newspaper's reporting, and so will be the subject of qualitative analysis.

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<sup>83</sup> David Taylor, *Hooligans, Harlots, and Hangman: Crime and Punishment in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Praeger, 2010), p. 107.

<sup>84</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth Century England* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2011), pp.177-8.

<sup>85</sup> Barry Godfrey and Paul Lawrence, *Crime and Justice Since 1750* (Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2005).

<sup>86</sup> Clive Emsley, 'The changes in policing and penal policy in nineteenth-century Europe', in Godfrey, Barry and Dunstall, Graeme eds. *Crime and Empire, 1840-1940: Criminal Justice in Local and Global Context* (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2005) pp. 8-24.

## Method of analysis

The study quantitatively deconstructed the newspaper at six-year intervals, looking at all editions in March and September. The years studied were: 1867<sup>87</sup>, 1873, 1879, 1885, 1892<sup>88</sup>, 1897, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921, 1927, and 1933. The quantitative analysis of illustrations took place at three-year intervals, as there were fewer illustrations than other crime content in the newspaper. Instead of choosing specific moments and years to study, the regular intervals were selected in order to assess chronological progression where possible. The months of March and September were selected since they were not at the beginning or end of the year, avoiding potential summaries of the year's events. The separation between March and September was used to reduce the chances of repetition of reporting. The specific methodology employed in each chapter will be outlined in more detail in the chapters.

There are a number of difficulties associated with the statistical analysis and content analysis of newspapers. Jeremy Black has questioned the value of quantitative analysis of newspapers, as a result of the difficulty classifying content that could be simultaneously classified under a number of headings.<sup>89</sup> However, as Esther Snell responded in her thesis, the specific statistical analysis of one area of reportage - in this instance crime - helps to eliminate of these problems of categorisation.<sup>90</sup> The statistical analysis of newspaper content allows a closer analysis of newspaper reportage, and provides the opportunity for a thematic analysis of the newspaper over an extended period of time.

This quantitative analysis will be supported with a qualitative analysis of the crime narratives produced by the newspaper. As this literature review has demonstrated, 'crime'

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<sup>87</sup> Although beginning in 1864, the complete run of the *IPN* began in 1867.

<sup>88</sup> The 1891 edition is missing, so the thesis analysed 1892 instead.

<sup>89</sup> Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (London: The History Press Ltd, 2001), pp. 26-28.

<sup>90</sup> Esther Snell,

is a social and cultural construct assembled by reporters who both influence and are influenced by the standards of approved behaviour. Therefore alongside the statistics, the thesis will study how the newspaper constructed its messages of crime, justice, and punishment. In addition to a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of the *IPN*, this thesis will also consider the broader context of the newspaper's production, including the newspaper's ownership, the effect of technological developments, and the social and political context, notably the impact of the First World War upon the newspaper. The importance of analysing all aspects of the communication process was stressed by mass communications research, which emerged in the 1960s. James Halloran, pioneer in this field, argued that the effect of historical, economic, political, organisational, technological, professional and personal factors, all of which impinge upon production process and determine what is produced, should be studied. He asserted that in the past the focus of research was on use, reaction, effects, and influence, but where possible, research should also study ownership, control, structure, organisation and production relationships.<sup>91</sup>

## **Chapter breakdown**

Chapter one will plot the chronology of the *Illustrated Police News* against the developments in print culture laid out in the literature review above. As part of this analysis, there will be a detailed analysis of important elements of the *IPN*, including the content, style, form, and how this changed over time. The chapter will also analyse the content of material within the newspaper pertaining to crime and sensational events, comparing this with that found in other 'popular' newspapers. This process will seek to uncover whether the *IPN* reported a higher quantity of crime and sensational material than these other newspapers. This chapter will work towards situating the *IPN* in existing print culture history, and attempt to understand why the newspaper has been marginalised. It

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<sup>91</sup> James Halloran, *The context of mass communication research. Papers for the International Commission for the Study of Communication problems* 78 (Paris: Unesco, 1980), p. 6.



will show that the second half of the nineteenth century was not simply a period of change and the *IPN* offers a powerful argument for continuity. This evidence will also illustrate the limited use of the strict divide between the ‘sensational’ and the ‘respectable’. Increasingly in the existing secondary literature, use of the term ‘sensational’ has extended beyond a mere explanation of style and expression, and has been used as a term of judgement, loaded with negative connotations.

Chapter Two will analyse the advertisements found in the newspaper. Advertisements are one of the elements of a newspaper which can be used an indicator of a newspaper’s readership. Virginia Berridge used an analysis of advertisements alongside the newspapers’ prices, correspondence columns, appearances and tones, and information from both within the newspapers and the advertisers’ handbooks to discern readership of *Reynold’s Newspaper* and *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*.<sup>92</sup> The value of advertisements and the opportunity they offer to study a wide variety of things like purchasing patterns, economic history and social attitudes has long been recognised by historians.<sup>93</sup> Despite Roy Church’s call for further research, the development of nineteenth-century British advertising is still neglected by scholars.<sup>94</sup> The advertisements featured within the pages of the *IPN* are able to provide us with a more nuanced sense of the newspaper, its production and its readership. First, developments in the advertisements represent advances in technology, and where the advertisements changed in style, these changes were often reflected in the style and content of the newspaper. In order to examine the types of products advertised a range of quantitative and qualitative methods will be used.

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<sup>92</sup>Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular Journalism and Working Class attitudes, 1854-1886: a study of Reynolds’s Newspaper, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, and he Weekly Times’ (PhD Dissertation, University of London 1976), p. 50.

<sup>93</sup> Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923).

<sup>94</sup> Roy Church, ‘Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-century Britain:Re-interpretations’, *The Economic History Review*, vol 53, No 4 (Nov 200)621-645.

Chapter 3 will analyse the visual representation of crime within the *IPN*. The chapter will demonstrate how the newspaper's illustrations drew on influences from earlier forms of print culture such as the broadsheet, which were already in decline by 1870. The chapter will combine a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the woodcuts in order to examine the main subjects of illustration, and more specifically the crimes most likely to be illustrated. The qualitative analysis will demonstrate the ways in which these illustrations were influenced by nineteenth-century tropes of melodrama and theatre, and the interplay between the illustrations and text in the newspaper. It will also examine why the newspaper continued to publish woodcut illustrations, when the daily press began to introduce photographs to bolster their sales in the twentieth century.

Chapter 4 will examine the role of criminal celebrities within the *IPN*. Particularly famous crimes, and especially murders which resulted in long trials and the subsequent execution of the alleged offender, could be the subject of increased attention within the *IPN*. Each week readers would be provided with the latest instalment in the case, and often when there was a large gap between the detection of the crime and the trial, the newspaper would seek to retain interest in the case with weekly updates about the criminal. Long after the conclusion of the trial, readers could be offered 'spin-off' publications containing extra information about the case and its conclusion, with extra woodcut illustrations. A number of individuals received particular attention, including Charles Peace, Frederick Baker, Kate Webster and Florence Maybrick. Whilst the above historiography has shown the emergence and role of 'criminal celebrity' as a largely twentieth-century phenomenon, particularly in the 1920s, with John Carter Wood's analysis of both the Beatrice Pace case and the 'Garage Girl', both in 1928, and Matt Houlbrook's work on the 1920s autobiographical accounts of the confidence tricksters, this chapter will demonstrate that in the *IPN* the criminal celebrity was a largely nineteenth-century phenomenon. In complete

contrast with John Carter Wood's case studies, the criminal celebrity disappeared from the *IPN* in the twentieth century.

Chapter 5 will examine the role of police court reporting in the *IPN*. Whilst the newspaper is well-known for its sensational crime content, it also printed weekly intelligence reports from the London police courts. As the literature review has shown, the courtroom was the focus of crime reporting up until the beginning of the twentieth century. Weekly 'Police Intelligence' reports from the Police Courts and more sporadic reports from the Central Criminal Courts and Middlesex Assizes supplied readers with a selection of cases heard in court. Unlike the twentieth-century London press, which in general relatively ignored the Police Courts, the *IPN* continued to devote a significant proportion of the newspaper to police intelligence.<sup>95</sup> Even when the overall crime content of written reports and illustrations declined in favour of war coverage during the First World War, the proportion of the newspaper given to 'police intelligence' (reports from Police Courts) remained relatively constant. This chapter will explore how these reports, and the newspaper in turn, depicted the daily work of the courts, an area of crime reporting which has often been ignored in favour of the more sensational accounts of murder and violence. This will be achieved primarily through a quantitative analysis of the Police Court Reports at six-year intervals in March and September.

Chapter 6 will provide an in-depth analysis of the types of crimes reported in the newspaper, and the locations and spaces in which they were committed. Whilst a London newspaper, the *IPN* chose to report crimes committed outside of the metropolis. The chapter will examine which provincial locations received the greatest focus, and what the selection of these stories can illuminate. Did the newspaper's selection process reflect

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<sup>95</sup> Jennifer Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue 2, 309-335, p. 334.

their news-gathering devices (did the *IPN* take stories from well-established provincial newspapers?) or the location of provincial audiences (did the *IPN* print details of specific provincial crimes to appeal to provincial audiences?)

The conclusion will draw all the strands of these chapters together, arguing for a reconsideration of nineteenth and twentieth-century print culture and crime reporting. It will argue that while a number of social and cultural histories of this period have shown a neat narrative of a changing press and popular culture, in response to the emergence of a new mass culture, rising living standards, changing leisure practices and a civilising process, in reality the relationship between continuity and change was much messier in the *IPN*. There were a number of important continuities and old and new types of journalism ran in tandem in the newspaper. There was a repackaging of these older representations, and in many cases the newspaper underwent a number of changes in order to facilitate continuity.



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## The *IPN*

In the last edition of the newspaper before its transformation into *The Sporting Record*, the editorial of *The Illustrated Police News (IPN)* would proudly state:

The Police News made its first appearance in 1864 and at once became a rare favourite. It created a sensation with its reports of the week's most interesting court cases and by being the first newspaper to publish illustrations. Throughout the years the Police News has been in great demand, but...**time marches on**...now the topic of the day is sport, and then more sport.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will provide an overview of the history of the *IPN*, over these seventy-four years of publication, examining the newspaper's circulation, readership, and reception, in addition to how the newspaper's content and layout changed during the course of its history. This will provide an idea of how the newspaper evolved over its life, before the subsequent chapters provide an in-depth analysis of some of the newspaper's sections. Existing secondary narratives of nineteenth and early twentieth-century print and popular culture suggest that between 1864 and 1938 there were many changes in the content, style and format of the popular newspaper, in addition to changes in working-class leisure pursuits. This chapter will begin with a comparison of the first and last editions of the newspaper, focusing in particular their front pages, in order to see if the changes in the *IPN* matched these narratives. The remainder of the chapter will be split into the four distinct phases of the newspaper's publishing history, to see how these changes happened.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 3 March 1938, p. 2, my emphases.

Looking at the first and last edition of the newspaper it is evident that there had been significant changes to the layout and content of the *IPN* over the course of its life. Figure 1.1 shows the front cover of the first edition of the *IPN* on 20 February 1864 and will be compared with figure 1.2, which shows the front cover of the final edition of the *IPN* from 3 March 1938. The differing content of these two front pages also suggests that the newspaper underwent a dramatic change. The changed focus of the newspaper was signalled by the different design and content of the mastheads. Figure 1.2 shows that there was a complete removal of crime content from the front-page of the final newspaper, which was signalled by the changing masthead. Whilst retaining its title, the *Illustrated Police News*, the subheading had changed from the ‘Law Courts and Criminal Record’ to the ‘Sporting Weekly Record’ – providing evidence of a clear change in focus. Despite this change, the masthead still reminded readers that the newspaper was established in 1864, suggesting that the *IPN* was proud of its history and beginnings.

The front page of the first edition of the *IPN* focused almost entirely on ‘The Great Murder and Piracy Case’, which took place on a vessel sailing from London to Singapore. The coverage of this crime was extensive, concentrating on the trial and the presentation of evidence, the sentence, and details of the forthcoming execution. A special edition of the *IPN* was even printed on the Monday in order to provide readers with an illustration of the crowds gathered at the execution scene (figure 1.3). Mid-century weekly newspapers had previously struggled with the Monday execution day, which occurred just after their day of publication, so the decision of the *IPN* to print a special edition was a way to overcome this. It also suggests that the *IPN* was intended to fill the gap left by the broadsheets, which were previously hawked on the day of the execution. The reporting of this crime, the justice process, and the punishment was heavily influenced by the language and traditions of its broadside ancestors. The newspaper employed the same well-known euphemisms when writing about execution, including a description of the prisoner being

‘launched into eternity’.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, the last front page to be printed contained a variety of articles – all pertaining to sport - including football predictions, news about the greyhounds, and betting tips. Instead of an illustration of a crime scene or a court room there was a reproduction of a cartoon showing football stars Charles Craven from Grimsby Town and George Cummings from Aston Villa. On the surface, this suggests that the newspaper had been subjected to the same taming process outlined in the historiography – the complete removal of crime content, and its replacement with sporting content – reflecting the changing leisure practices of the working classes and the completion of a civilising process.

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<sup>2</sup> *The IPN*, 20 February 1864. Special Edition Monday Morning, p. 2.



# THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE LAW-COURTS AND CRIMINAL RECORD.

NO. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1864. [PRICE, ONE PENNY.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1864.

## THE GREAT MURDER AND PRISON CASE.

THE GREAT MURDER AND PRISON CASE. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

## Discovery of the Crime.

Discovery of the Crime. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

## The Trial.

The Trial. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

## The Defence.

The Defence. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

## The Verdict.

The Verdict. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

## The Sentence.

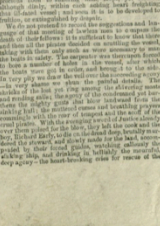
The Sentence. The case of the murder of the late Mr. Thomas, who was shot dead in the street, is now before the Court. The case is of great importance, and the public are much interested in it. The case is now before the Court, and the public are much interested in it.



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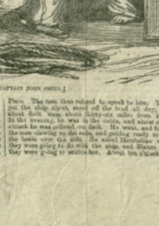
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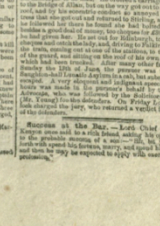
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Portrait of a man, likely a witness or defendant in the case.

Figure 1.1: First edition of the IPN, 20 February 1864, p. 1



EVERYTHING FOR  
THE  
FOOTBALL FANS  
See Pages 10, 11, 12, 13 & 14

Read The  
IMPORTANT  
ANNOUNCEMENT  
ON PAGE 2

# THE ILLUSTRATED

# POLICE NEWS

## SPORTING WEEKLY RECORD

ESTABLISHED 1864

TWOPENCE

25863, [REDACTED]

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1938

## Teams That Should Win Saturday's Cup-Ties

HUDDERSFIELD, MANCHESTER CITY,  
PRESTON & SPURS FOR SEMI-FINALS

### Complaints Against New Bonus System

By AUGUR

The newly formed F.A. Cup, which is being played in the form of a new tournament, has been the subject of much criticism. It is a pity that the F.A. Cup is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. The F.A. Cup is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

One of the main reasons for the popularity of the F.A. Cup is that it is a competition which is played for the love of the game. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. The F.A. Cup is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

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### FOOTBALL STARS



### With The Greyhounds

## LONG-DISTANCE RUNNERS AT WHITE CITY

By MARSDEN

### Just Glorious Wins First Marathon Trophy

Just now the London Marathon is being run, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. The London Marathon is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

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### You will find inside

- London Marathon page 4
- Football Stars page 5
- Just Glorious Wins page 6
- First Marathon page 7
- Football Stars page 8
- London Marathon page 9
- Football Stars page 10
- Just Glorious Wins page 11
- First Marathon page 12
- Football Stars page 13
- London Marathon page 14
- Football Stars page 15
- Just Glorious Wins page 16
- First Marathon page 17
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- Just Glorious Wins page 21
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- Football Stars page 95
- Just Glorious Wins page 96
- First Marathon page 97
- Football Stars page 98
- London Marathon page 99
- Football Stars page 100

### Smashing Hardier

Smashing Hardier is a competition which is played for the love of the game. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. Smashing Hardier is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

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### LONDON GREYHOUNDS TO FOLLOW

London Greyhounds is a competition which is played for the love of the game. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. London Greyhounds is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

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### "Open" There will be the Right

"Open" There will be the Right. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. "Open" There will be the Right. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine.

### "Figuee Catcher"

"Figuee Catcher" is a competition which is played for the love of the game. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. "Figuee Catcher" is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

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### Football Stars

Football Stars is a competition which is played for the love of the game. It is a pity that it is not more popular than it is, as it is the only football competition in the world which is not a money-making machine. Football Stars is a competition which is played for the love of the game, and it is a pity that it is not more popular than it is.

### Service Wine

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## HITLER'S NEXT BOMBHELL (See page 3)

Figure 1.2: Last edition of the IPN, 3 March 1938, p. 1





was more white space in the later newspaper, owing to the reduction in the number of columns from six to five, the shortening of reports, and the introduction of large subheadings in different typefaces. Figure 1.1 demonstrates the density of print, and quantity and compression of text in the first edition of the newspaper. The density of this print, with very few headings and subheadings to guide the reader, suggests that it was expected that readers would read all four pages of the newspaper from cover to cover.

Looking at the copy of the final newspaper, printed on 3 March 1938, it is evident that the template had been changed to make the reading experience as easy, convenient and interesting as possible. Readers were provided with different entry points for reading, including a contents page on the front cover, where they were clearly guided to their preferred sections of the newspaper. The use of different typefaces and clear division lines between the reports not only separated the content, but also successfully caught the reader's eye. These changes reflect a number of developments in the popular press identified by Adrian Bingham. He showed how the popular newspaper evolved in the first half of the twentieth century, thanks to Alfred Harmsworth's desire to make the reading experience as interesting and convenient as possible. Harmsworth, later to become Lord Northcliffe, worked to rid his staff at the *Daily Mail* of the perception that people scrupulously read the whole of the newspaper.<sup>3</sup> This was reinforced by a survey of the London Press Exchange in 1934, which illustrated that of the ten prominent news items in the national daily and evening newspapers, the average person read four completely, two partly, and four not at all.<sup>4</sup> The final copy of the *IPN* reflected this changed understanding of how people consumed newspapers.

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<sup>3</sup> Adrian Bingham, "'Putting literature out of reach'? Reading popular newspapers in mid-twentieth century Britain', in *The History of Reading, Vol.2: Evidence from the British Isles, c.1750-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), eds. Katie Halsey and W.R.Owens, p.142.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.146

Whilst the *IPN* had always combined news and entertainment, the final issue offered readers a greater variety of entertainment items than the first newspaper. There was a much broader selection of content, including, but not limited to: news from the films (punctuated with photographs of film stars), gardening hints, tips about how to wean chickens, and canine welfare and hygiene, all of which were perhaps intended for a female audience. This final edition of the newspaper also contained a large number of sporting reports, in particular articles about football form and forecasting, in addition to information about the pools on pages 10, 11, 12, and 14. The entire back page was also devoted to reports about Horse Racing and tips from 'Formite'.

The differing missions of the first and last newspaper are also revealed in the editorial comment printed in both newspapers. The first newspaper clearly laid out the journal's principles and intentions, in a very formal and lengthy piece of editorial. Before even addressing its interest in crime reporting, the newspaper clearly cited its political position, noting its support for the Extension of Suffrage and Vote by Ballot, in addition to its support for furthering the cause of Cooperative Societies. The newspaper was political in its tone, promising to 'investigate most thoroughly the manner in which justice is dealt out by our Judges and Magistrates'. Its editorial suggested that it would challenge the established system and critique inconsistencies in the court which meant that 'the petty thief of tender age' received in one court 'the sentence of an old incorrigible burglar', whilst in another 'confirmed scoundrel receives only the award suited to the misdemeanant of the mildest type'.<sup>5</sup> This concern with reform and politics echoed the aims of the police gazettes and early Sunday newspapers. This may have been an attempt to find an 'improving' justification for essentially prurient content, but it still reinforced the newspaper focus on crime and justice.

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<sup>5</sup> The *Illustrated Police News*, 20 February 1864, p. 2.



The first newspaper noted its desire to continue previous print traditions established in the broadsides and cheap street literature, and to provide readers with ‘truthful narratives of the Lives and Trials of Criminals, past and present’.<sup>6</sup> The newspaper expressed its aim of being a ‘People’s Paper’. Conversely, the last issue of the newspaper provided readers with notice of the transition from the *IPN* to the *Sporting Record*. It announced to readers that ‘starting with next week’s issue, the first and main interest of The Police News, magazine of over seventy years standing, will be the presentation of sporting news and features’.<sup>7</sup> The notice used different typefaces and bullet points in order to make its statement as clear and easy to read as possible, and to draw attention to the main points. Whilst proudly acknowledging the newspaper’s legacy as ‘the first paper to publish illustrations’, with its sensation and reports of the week’s ‘most interesting court cases’, making it a ‘rare favourite’, the newspaper was forward looking, reminding readers that ‘time marches on’. Instead of referencing old print cultures, this editorial appeared to offer readers something new. Moreover, instead of offering a wide variety of content, the editorial suggested that there would be a much narrower focus on ‘sport, sport, and then more sport’, which was the ‘topic of the day’.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, instead of intending to operate as a ‘people’s paper’, the newspaper advertised itself as ‘a paper for all sportsmen’.

However, whilst it is evident that the newspaper had been repackaged and renewed, it is important to recognise that there were a number of important continuities and similarities between the first and last newspaper. The *Illustrated Police News* continued to print woodcut illustrations, and inside the final newspaper these included illustrations of the most sensational crimes of the week. Despite their differing format and layout, both issues also printed summaries of the business of the metropolitan police courts, covering a wide spread of offences. Changes and continuities in illustration and police court reporting will

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<sup>6</sup> The *Illustrated Police News*, 3 March 1938, p.2.

<sup>7</sup> The *Illustrated Police News*, 3 March 1938, p.2.

<sup>8</sup> The *Illustrated Police News*, 3 March 1938, p.2.

be explored in more detail later in the thesis. The remainder of the chapter will be divided into four sections, to show how these changes occurred. These sections illustrate the four distinct phases in the publishing history of the *IPN*, which incorporated various changes, but also vital continuities. These were:

1. **Looking backwards (1864-1892):** This saw the emergence of the *IPN* in 1864 before George Purkess took over the publishing in 1865. During this period the newspaper established itself as a sensational illustrated newspaper, publishing reports of the week's most dramatic crimes. The newspaper was largely influenced by Purkess's previous publishing history, and drew heavily upon earlier forms of print culture, like broadsheets. During this period there was an expanding readership, and the content of the newspaper was subject to its most vocal opposition.
2. **Looking forwards (1892-1914):** The sale of the business and the death of George Purkess in 1892 heralded a new beginning for the newspaper, which began to see various changes in layout, format, and content. This coincided with the broader changes in the press, which saw the declining influence of the proprietor, increased commercialisation and a broadening of newspaper content. Crime stories continued to appear, but were increasingly displaced by sports coverage and sex. This was reflected in all aspects of the newspaper, from the illustrations to the advertisements.
3. **The Great European War (1914-1918):** The impact of the Great War upon the reporting style and crime content was crucial. Updates from the war and the front became the central focus of the newspaper, dominating illustrations and reporting. Whilst illustrations of war had previously dominated reporting newspaper during

the Boer War, this was the first time that war reporting had dominated both the written and illustrated reports found in the newspaper. During this period the influence of crime reporting declined even further.

4. **“Time marches on” (1918-1938):** A period of further change, in which sport became the dominant element of the publication. During this period the publication underwent further transformation, and gambling tips and betting form increasingly accompanied the growing number of sports reports. There remained some vital continuities during this period, including the continuation of wood-engravings, and the continuation of police court reporting, but it was these continuities which made the continuation of the newspaper untenable.

### **1. Looking backwards: 1864-1892**

The first phase of the newspaper stretched for nearly thirty years, during which time the *IPN* established itself as a sensational illustrated newspaper, publishing reports of the week’s most dramatic crimes. This period has been widely described by historians of print and popular culture as one of extensive change, with the introduction of ‘New Journalism’, and the rise of a mass commercial culture offered as a ‘consolation for the masses’. However, this chapter will argue for the need to consider the periodisation of these changes. During this period, the content, style, and form of the *IPN* showed much continuity with previous forms of print culture, whilst maintaining a large and growing readership, as a result of a number of the changes associated with a new mass culture.

Although founded in 1864 by ‘Messrs Lee and Bulpin’, the most significant influence on the content and format of the *IPN* during this period can be attributed to George Purkess Junior. Purchasing the *IPN* in 1865, George Purkess continued to act as the newspaper’s proprietor until 1892, when illness forced him to sell the business in the July, before he



died on Thursday 14 December 1892.<sup>9</sup> Histories of the emergence of the nineteenth-century newspaper have stressed the important influence of the proprietor in shaping the style and content of the newspaper.<sup>10</sup> The substantial range of titles of publications of the period, for example, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (1842-1902), *Reynolds's Newspaper* (1850-1967), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1980) and *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette* (1835-1836), which include the proprietor's name in their title, suggests the centrality of the proprietor. In addition to exerting an influence upon the physical style of the newspaper, newspaper proprietors and their reputation also had a direction impact upon the perception of their newspaper.

The *Illustrated Police News* was not the only business venture of George Purkess Junior. George Purkess Junior continued the family tradition of printing cheap, sensational literature. His father, George Purkess Senior, was part of the younger generation of printers turned pressmen, which included William Strange, George Vickers, Benjamin Cousin and Edward Lloyd.<sup>11</sup> In an article concerning the fire at a fellow bookseller's premises in 1846, Purkess Senior was one of several tradesmen, including Edward Lloyd and John Cleave (of Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette), who were all listed as offering subscriptions to help the bookseller reopen his business.<sup>12</sup> Purkess, along with these other printers, was more concerned with profits and consequently either combined radicalism with sensation, or dampened their political voice almost completely. These populist periodicals, focusing predominantly upon scandal in high places, were largely prurient, often obscene, and always sensationalist, but they could also sometimes be explicitly

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<sup>9</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Rohan McWilliam, 'The Mysteries of G.W.M Reynolds: radicalism and melodrama in Victorian Britain', in *Living and Learning: essays in honour of J.F.C. Harrison*, eds. Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996); Anne Humphreys, 'Popular Narrative and Political Discourse in Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, eds. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Humphreys, 'G.W.M Reynolds: popular literature and popular politics', in *Innovators and Preachers: the role of the editor in Victorian England*, ed. Joel Wiener (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1765-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 219, 221.

<sup>12</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 25 October 1846, p. 11.

radical in their concern to expose and reform upper and middle-class corruption and vice.<sup>13</sup> The concern for profit led George Purkess Senior to publish a number of penny part serials between 1831 and his death in 1859. In the 1840s he issued a number of penny bloods, including: *The Life and Adventures of Jack Rann alias sixteen string Jack* (1845), *Tyburn Tree, or The Mysteries of the Past* (1848), *The Life and Adventures of Jack Sheppard* (1849 – 30 no.s), *The Monk, A Tale of Inquisition* (1851), and *Jack Cade, The Insurrectionist* (1851). These publications were full of ‘escapes, pursuits, betrayed maidens, and lost heirs, bloody murders, imprisonments, robbers and pirates’, tropes of the penny dreadful identified by Elizabeth James and Helen R. Smith.<sup>14</sup> The influence of these earlier publishing ventures of Purkess Senior upon George Purkess Junior’s publishing business is evident. Purkess Junior even reissued some of his father’s penny publications. In 1863 he launched his *Penny Library of Romances*, which was clearly influenced by Purkess Senior’s ‘Library of Romance’ published in the 1850s. In 1870 George Purkess Junior began issuing his *Books for the Million*, including the ‘Egyptian Dreambook’, many of which had been published by his father in the 1850s. These serial part publications were the main products advertised in the *IPN* during the newspaper’s early years, and will be explored in the following chapter.

In addition to these penny part serial publications, George Purkess Junior published a number of journals. In the 1860s and 1870s Purkess printed three different ‘crime journals’, suggesting that he perceived there to be a viable market for crime stories. The *IPN* was the first and longest running of these. Following his purchase of the *IPN* in 1865, Purkess then experimented with the publication of the *Illustrated Police Gazette* in 1867. Priced at half a penny, according to its editorial this monthly publication intended to

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<sup>13</sup> Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1765-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 225

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth James and Helen R Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys’ Adventure Stories: The Barry Ono Collection of Victorian Popular Literature in the British Library* (London: British Library, 1998), p. xiv.

become weekly if it was profitable.<sup>15</sup> However, this was a short-lived experiment and only one issue remains – 6 February 1867 – suggesting the limited sales and popularity of the publication. Instead of printing stories of the most exciting or sensational crimes, the journal primarily reported news from the Vice Chancellor's courts, civil courts, and 'police intelligence' (short reports outlining details of the cases heard in the Police Courts and occasionally the Central Criminal Court of Middlesex Assizes). These concise reports provided details of more mundane crimes, such as robbery. The range of advertisements included in the publication was similarly narrow, focusing almost entirely upon domestic and musical goods. If this newspaper was used to test the popularity of a more 'respectable' newspaper in a period of 'taming', one can only say that it failed. Its inability to attract a large readership suggested that people still wanted to consume accounts of violent crime and violence.

In 1871 Purkess tested the other extreme, producing the *Police Gazette: Or London by Gaslight*, also priced at one halfpenny. The *Police Gazette* was more risqué than the *IPN*. Its entire front page was devoted to a single picture with the sole intention to sexually titillate. Scantly clad ladies predominated, striking poses that were provocative, including dangling bonbons into a man's parted lips and partaking in acts of drinking and smoking. Whilst pretending to adopt a moralising tone and stressing the 'lessons of fast living', the newspaper revelled in such transgressions. For example, it illustrated the scene of a male teacher seducing three of his female students over a desk in a boarding school in order to 'awaken the parents to a keener sense of watchfulness'.<sup>16</sup> These illustrations were perhaps too sensational to attract the necessary number of regular readers in the 1870s, but similar illustrations, which interrogated ideas of femininity and gender, would become more prominent in the *IPN* in the 1890s. In addition to these reports of sexual transgression, the *Police Gazette: Or London by Gaslight* printed stories about murder, suicide and tragedy.

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<sup>15</sup> *The Illustrated Police Gazette*, 9 February 1867.

<sup>16</sup> *Police Gazette: Or London By Gaslight*, 9 December 1871, p.1.

Whilst publishing more editions than the more respectable *Illustrated Police Gazette*, George Purkess's experimentation with this more sensational publication was similarly short-lived. Only six weekly editions survive – published between 4 November 1871 and the 9 December 1871 – suggesting this more sensational publication was also unable to draw readers from large mainstream mass weeklies. The short publication history of these journals allows us to understand more clearly the longevity of the *IPN*, and its emergence and success during the period between 1864 and 1892. The *IPN* was able to combine sensation, day-to-day news, and a range of risqué and useful advertisements, in order to provide readers with a variety of news pertaining to crime. Thus, it was able to appeal to the readers of both the *Illustrated Police Gazette* and the *Police Gazette: Or London By Gaslight*, but also a much wider audience.

During this period there were very few changes to the layout and content of the *IPN*. On 18 April 1868 the *IPN* extended the number of columns per page, increasing from six to seven columns, and proudly announcing to readers the increased size, which amounted to 'six extra columns of letter-press' in addition to front-page illustrations measuring '22 in by 18in, being the largest page engraving at present issued weekly from the London press'.<sup>17</sup> The front page initially contained a combination of illustrations and their accompanying reports, although by 1868 the entire front page became given to illustrations. These front-page illustrations were, without doubt, the most sensational aspect of the newspaper, and will be explored in more detail in chapter three.

Circulation figures listed in advertising handbooks suggest that far from being an anomalous or marginal publication, the *IPN* was expanding and developing throughout the period. According to the Publishers' Circular of 1868, the *IPN* enjoyed circulation figures

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<sup>17</sup> The *IPN*, 18 April 1868, p. 2.

of up to 100,000 in 1867.<sup>18</sup> In 1870, after just three years, the *Newspaper Press Directory* listed the *IPN* as having an average sale of 150,000 copies weekly, describing its circulation as the ‘largest...of any other illustrated paper’.<sup>19</sup> According to an article about advertising printed by the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1888, this estimated circulation had doubled, reaching 300,000, a figure that eclipsed those of the *News of the World* and *Pictorial News*, which achieved circulation figures of 100,000 and 95,000 respectively.<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to assess the validity of these numbers, although the other circulations featured in this guide, namely those of Lloyd’s Weekly News (LWN) and Reynolds’s Newspaper (RN), 612,000 and 350,000 respectably, appear in line with circulations of the period established by both Virginia Berridge and Richard Altick.<sup>21</sup>

*The Illustrated Police News* was priced at a penny during this period, five pence cheaper than the *Illustrated London News*. This lower price reflected the newspaper’s desire to attract the widest readership possible. During her study of Sunday newspapers, Virginia Berridge used price, alongside advertisements, and information from within the newspapers and advertisers’ handbooks in order to characterise the readership of *Reynold’s News* and *Lloyds Weekly News*. Her research suggested that the price of a penny denoted the attempt to attract a large working class audience.<sup>22</sup> The *IPN* was printed every Tuesday, but not sold until the Saturday. The gap between the printing and sale of the newspaper further signals the attempt to gain the widest audience possible, with this delay

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<sup>18</sup> R. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1959), p.395, according to the *Publishers’ Circular*, April 15 1868,

<sup>19</sup> *Newspaper Press Directory: Containing full particulars relative to each journal published in the UK and British Isles* (London: C, Mitchell and co. 1868).

<sup>20</sup> ‘Successful advertising: its secrets explained’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 September 1889, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular Sunday Papers and mid-Victorian society’ in *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day* eds. George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable 1978), p. 249, Berridges estimates that *LWN* had a circulation of 600,000 in the arly 1890s, whilst *RN* was selling more than 300,000 each week in the 1880s; Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 394-5, recorded that *LWN* had a circulation of 750,000 in 1886.

<sup>22</sup> Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular Journalism and Working Class attitudes, 1854-1886: a study of Reynolds’s Newspaper, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, and he Weekly Times’ (PhD Dissertation, University of London 1976), p. 50.

allowing newspaper copies to be distributed to the provincial locations before the sale.<sup>23</sup> Existing contemporary evidence derived from autobiographies and journal articles, whilst patchy and sporadic, supports this suggestion of a strong readership outside London, with the capital's circulation only contributing to about one-eighth of the sales for an entire issue'.<sup>24</sup> A range of evidence confirms a large circulation in urban environments, including Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Scotland (Glasgow and Edinburgh), and the North of England.<sup>25</sup> In addition, some more fragmentary and limited evidence draws attention to circulation in provincial towns and villages.<sup>26</sup> The location of these readerships will be considered more closely in chapter 6 on locations.

The extensive circulation and popularity of the *IPN* was a cause of concern to some critics of the newspaper during this period. This criticism was predominantly voiced in the 1860s and 1870s in the correspondence columns and editorials of other newspapers and periodicals, including *The Saturday Review*, *The Graphic*, and *All the Year Round*.<sup>27</sup> These commentators were concerned about the 'immense' sales of the *IPN* and the damage that newspaper's depiction of popular crimes and 'suggestive' advertisements could have upon impressionable readers and in turn, 'public morality and decency'.<sup>28</sup> The 'flaunting woodcuts' printed in the *IPN* allegedly made 'murder, violent robberies, criminal assaults and deeds of blood...attractive to the youthful intelligence'.<sup>29</sup> The criticism directed at the *IPN* was part of a broader debate about the literary diet of the new reading public and the

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<sup>23</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working-class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> J. H. Nodal, 'The Circulation of Newspaper and Periodicals in Manchester', *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, (vol.II.1876), p.35; Joseph Stammer, *So Long Ago* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p. 160; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 1..

<sup>26</sup> Linda Stratmann, *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities: The Illustrated Police News, 1864-1938* (London: The British Library, 2011), p.16, Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Second Report' (Parl. Papers, 1869-69, XIII), p. 399; Francis Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', *Macmillan's Magazine* 43 (March 1881), 385-398, reprinted in *Popular Print Media, 1820-1900*, vol III eds. Andrew King and John Plunket, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 397.

<sup>27</sup> *The Saturday Review*, 16 May 1868; *The Graphic*, 16 December 1871; *All the Year Round*, 19 (1867-68), p. 585.

<sup>28</sup> *The Times*, March 31, 1870, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> *The Saturday Review*, 16 May 1868, p. 648.

relationship between gross representations of crime and rising crime rates. Francis Hitchman's above criticism of the *IPN*'s large circulation was part of a more extensive survey of penny journals, boys' story papers and penny dreadfuls in 1880. Middle-class readers were concerned about the content of these periodicals, which they felt 'encouraged juvenile delinquency'.<sup>30</sup> Such concerns became more widespread as a result of middle-class anxieties about an increasingly literate working class and the expansion of the education system.<sup>31</sup>

During this period the *IPN* was not only influenced by the previous outputs and business of George Purkess Junior and Senior, but was also clearly shaped by earlier forms of street literature. The *IPN*'s emergence and development in the same decade as the abolition of public execution and the decline of the broadside is no coincidence. The *IPN* repackaged the old-style broadside for the entertainment of the same popular working-class audience. These representations of execution did not disappear until the 1920s. Police intelligence occupied an important role in the *IPN* during this period, and in these early years extensive reports from the London Police Courts featured on page three of the newspaper. There were important continuities in police court reporting, although between 1864-1892, the presentation of police intelligence changed slightly. The amount of space devoted to police reports gradually declined, and from 19 July 1890 until 27 September 1890 there was no coverage whatsoever. When the police intelligence returned at the end of September 1890, its form had changed. Initially arranged according to the police court where the trials were heard, such as Mansion House, Bow Street, or Clerkenwell, police intelligence was now organised under sub-headings which described the crime committed.

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<sup>30</sup> Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as it is* (London: H.J. Drane, 1988), pp. 189-90; Patrick Dunane, 'Penny Dreadfuls: Late- Nineteenth Century Boys' Literature and Crime', *Victorian Studies* 22 (1979) pp. 133-50; John Springhall, "'Pernicious Reading?'" "The Penny Dreadful" as a scapegoat for late-Victorian Juvenile Crime', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 27(1994), pp. 326-49.

<sup>31</sup> Anna Vaninska, 'Learning to Read Trash: Late-Victorian Schools and the Penny Dreadful' in Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (eds.), *The History of Reading: Evidence from the British Isles, c.1750-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 67-83.

Sub-headings were used to generate interest in the reports, such as ‘A Salvationist in trouble’, ‘The terror of Holloway’, ‘Very like a trap’, ‘A Queer Place for Pears’, ‘Drinking and Stealing’, and ‘Horse-whipping Clergyman’.<sup>32</sup> These subheadings allowed readers to take a short cut to the stories that interested them, rather than challenging the reader to read it all.

### **Looking forwards: 1892-1914**

After the long period of continuity between 1864 and 1892, the second phase in the newspaper’s publishing history heralded more change and instability. A few months prior to his death, George Purkess junior sold his company. *Purkess and Co Limited*, which, despite its name, had nothing to do with the Purkess family, was incorporated on 4 July 1892 to take over Purkess Junior’s business.<sup>33</sup> George Lyon Bennett, former Secretary of the Commercial Union Assurance Company, was listed as the Managing Director. Bennett was also listed as the majority shareholder on 16 November 1892, owning 6,997 of the 12,000 shares when the nominal capital of £12,000 was divided into 12,000 £1 shares. George Purkess Junior died on 10 December 1892. One might have expected the newspaper to commemorate its former proprietor in more detail, but the announcement was tucked away in the bottom left-hand column of the second page of the newspaper on the 17 December 1892:

Mr George Purkess, proprietor of the *Family Doctor* and this journal, died on Saturday morning at his residence in Avenue-road, Regent’s Park, from Tuberculosis. A few weeks ago he underwent an operation and was thought to be going on well. As late as Friday afternoon, he was visited by his old friend, Mr.

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<sup>32</sup> The *IPN*, 27 September 1890, p.3, The *IPN*, 27 August 1892.

<sup>33</sup> The National Archives, Kew, Company No: 36754; Purkess and Company Ltd. Incorporated in 1892. Dissolved before 1916, BT 31/5356/36754.



Arthur Swanborough, manager of the Royal Music Hall. Deceased was highly esteemed by a large circle of friends.<sup>34</sup>

This failure to commemorate Purkess signalled a change in the organisation of the *IPN*, in addition to wider changes in print culture. With the influence of 'New Journalism' the central influence and importance of the proprietor-editor declined, and instead the corporation began to grow in importance. To commemorate the former editor too heavily would be to acknowledge the former style and content of the newspaper, rather than to look forward.

Much less information is known about the management of the *IPN* following the death of George Purkess. On 13 January 1894 the owner was listed as 'The Illustrated Publications Co Ltd', a company that had been formed on 11 December 1893. The shareholders were Edward Quinn and Sydney Bourne, Arthur Turner, George Leonard, Thomas George White, Frederick John Bigg and Emma Bourne. With 16 out of the 42 shares, the Bourne family had control over the company. In addition to changes in directorship and shareholders, there were also changes to the office from which the company operated. Initially situated on 60 Dean Street, Soho as before, there were a number of office moves during this period. From January 1894 the offices were at 56 Wynch Street, the Strand.

The instability and rapid changes to the management of the business was reflected in the experimentation in the layout, style and content of the *IPN*. The newspaper was reformatted on 8 December 1894, with an increased number of pages (from four to eight pages), although a reduction in page size and columns (from six to five columns). The masthead was reformatted, occupying a much larger proportion of the front page, and expanded to include additional advertisements. There was also a change to the front-page

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<sup>34</sup> *Illustrated Police News*, 17 December 1892, p. 2.

illustrations in 1895. The front-page illustrations were much larger, with a single image spread across the whole page, instead of smaller, cartoon-strip style pictures across the front page. The illustrations themselves also became more sexualised, and attractive women were shown wearing tight corsets, with beautiful hourglass figures. During 1898 and 1899 the back cover of the *IPN* was regularly devoted to risqué, full-page portraits of female music hall entertainers. Alongside the illustrations, the columns provided also became more sexualised, with the introduction of a column of ‘Saucy Songs’ in 1899.

Alongside crime reporting, there was a greater inclusion of sporting news and betting tips. This corresponds with Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson and Samathan Pegg’s account of the rise of the modern tabloid and twentieth-century popular press.<sup>35</sup> This increased focus upon sport was reflected in the changing way in which the newspaper was listed in the Newspaper Press Directory. From 1898 it was reported that the newspaper had ‘the best up-to-date boxing and sporting intelligence’. Throughout this period, the sporting content gradually increased to include racing and football tips, in addition to its already established coverage of boxing. The owners of the *IPN*, The Illustrated Publications Co Ltd, published a boxing journal called *Great Glove Fights* in 1904. However, this journal ceased publication the same year, and the content was eventually incorporated into the *IPN*, with a change to the newspaper’s masthead – which now included *Great Glove Fights* - reflecting this. This shows that like Purkess Junior’s earlier experimentations with specialised crime journals, in the early years of the twentieth century the narrow focus of this sporting journal was not financially viable. Instead, the broader content of the newspaper, which included crime reporting and illustrations, remained favourable to readers.

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<sup>35</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson and Samathan Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-1910* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 84.

## **The Great European War: 1914-18**

The First World War had a significant impact on the content of the *Illustrated Police News*, and the popular press more generally. Between 1914 and 1918 the war was to dominate the content of the newspaper. Front-page illustrations and the double spread of illustrations inside the newspaper were devoted to full-page illustrations of action-packed battle scenes, providing readers with mementoes from the war. Whilst the sensational crime content was almost entirely replaced by war news, there was no similar reduction in sporting content. There remained a large amount of football, boxing, and racing news, and the newspaper continued to provide readers with betting tips. Moreover, the regular police intelligence column continued to be printed for readers, offering a balance to the sensational written and illustrated depictions of war.

As a result of wartime paper shortages and price increases, the newspaper reduced its number of pages back to twelve on April 1916. The following year the newspaper had to increase its price from a penny (the price it had been for the entirety of its publication history) to three half-pence on 26 April 1917. The newspaper decreased in size further, from twelve pages down to eight. The effect of war upon the content of the newspaper will be explored throughout the rest of the thesis.

## **“Time marches on”: 1918-1938**

After the First World War, the crime content returned to its pre-war levels, with a continued focus upon violent crime. Sporting content continued to increase, even during the war when reports of sensational crime were replaced with updates from the Great War. During this final period, the content of sport reporting and gambling tips increased further, in response to popular demand. In his account of the ‘classic slum’, Robert Roberts noted

that ‘except in periods of national crisis or celebration’, the Edwardian industrial labourer ‘remained greatly uninterested in any event beyond the local, horse racing accepted’.<sup>36</sup>

Little is known about the management of the *IPN* during these final years. However, when Sydney Bourne died in 1930, he left his shares in the Illustrated Publications Ltd (that he had owned since 1893) in trust for his wife. His estate was valued at £1823 0s 6d. Although he did not own all the shares in the Illustrated Publications Ltd, Bourne’s estate, which was more modest than the figure of £10,399 0s 10d left by George Purkess in 1891, suggests that the *IPN* was less financially successful in the twentieth century than in the later years of the nineteenth century.

The newspaper changed its publication day to a Thursday. This reflected broader change within the newspaper itself – there was less news and more features, and the publication began to refer to itself as a journal. The proportion of crime reporting declined steadily. This change in publication date perhaps reflected the differing purposes for which readers now purchased the *IPN*. It is likely that the move to a Thursday reflected the desire for readers to obtain a copy of the newspaper prior to the weekend to study the form of the horses and the position of their football teams in the League tables. This need for early publication was cemented by the publication of pools coupons within the newspaper’s pages. This period also saw the introduction of wider content, including reports about film news, complete with photographs of film stars. Despite the introduction of these photographs, wood engraving illustrations continued to be used in the newspaper, whilst almost all other popular newspapers had replaced these woodcuts with photographs.

As these different periods demonstrate, the *IPN* underwent a number of stages of development and change, whilst retaining a number of important continuities. These

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<sup>36</sup> Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp. 162-3, 228-9.

changes and continuities will now be explored in more detail, while looking at specific aspects of the newspaper.

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## Advertisements

On 31 March 1870, amid debate surrounding William Forster's Bill to establish a national system of elementary education, the following letter to the editor was printed in *The Times*:

Week after week the illustrated records of crime are circulated over the length and breadth of the land. In my country parish the *Illustrated Police News* has a large circulation. Its pictures represent crime in varied phases; its letter-press is explanatory; but its most damaging part is to be found in the advertisements.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst this letter contained some of the usual criticisms of the *IPN*'s visual depictions of crime, its author, C.R., boldly stated that biggest problem associated with the newspaper was its advertisements. These criticisms, expressed in 1870, continued to be voiced into the twentieth century, and concerns about the products advertised in the *IPN* were specifically referenced in the Select Committee on Patent Medicines (1914) and the Report from the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements (1908).<sup>2</sup> This chapter will analyse why these advertisements came to be regarded as so dangerous. It will demonstrate the relationship between sensation, crime reporting and the advertisements found in the *IPN*, showing how the newspaper's advertisements further supported the crime narratives employed in the newspaper's reporting. In particular, it will show that whilst the newspaper advertisements changed over the period of study, with the introduction of the twentieth-century technique of advertising throughout the newspaper,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, 31 March, 1870, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Committee on Patent Medicines* (Parl. Papers, 1914, IX); Report from the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices (1908, IX.375)

and in the reduction of the number of advertisements for crime publications, the newspaper advertisements continued to be viewed as a gateway to more marginal or illicit cultures.

As explored in the introduction, advertisements are one of the elements of a newspaper which can be used an indicator of a newspaper's readership. The value of advertisements and the opportunity they offer to study a wide variety of things like purchasing patterns, economic history and social attitudes has long been recognised by historians.<sup>3</sup> The informative nature of advertisements was recognised as early as the nineteenth century by autodidact Thomas Carter, who alleged that they were less misleading than the editorial columns, since he could:

Learn more of human nature and of the tangled web of affairs from these sources than...from the most laboured statements of either editors or paid correspondents. While these, in order to bring grist in their mill, are forced to comply with party views and suppress their own; or are induced to mystify plain questions, so that they may seem to be profoundly learned in political knowledge; the advertising parties write for themselves – throw aside the veil of mystery – ask in good plain English for the reader's cash, and generally give a fair view of what is going on in the regions of their inner man.<sup>4</sup>

Carter did not deny that advertisers sometimes resorted to “cabalistic phrases” and misleading language, but the ordinary reader could learn to decode these and, in so doing develop his defences against all kinds of propaganda. Despite their importance there have been very few academic studies of advertisements. Thomas Richard's theoretical study of advertising in England between 1851 and 1914 suggested that the Great Exhibition of 1851 resulted in a commodification of culture, provoking a revolution in consciousness. The

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<sup>3</sup> Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Carter, *Memoirs of a Working Man*, pp. 18-21, 26-28, 79-82, 145, qu. In Jonathon Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale University Press, 2010) second edition, p. 392.

theme of gender has also been explored in the studies of advertising, particularly in Loeb's 1994 study and in Pasi Falk's 1994 study *The Consuming Body*.<sup>5</sup> Despite this growing body of scholarship, in 2000 Roy Church called for further research into the development of nineteenth-century British advertising, a task still to be undertaken.<sup>6</sup>

The advertisements featured within the pages of the *IPN* are able to provide us with a much more nuanced sense of the newspaper, its production and its readership. First, developments in the advertisements represent advances in technology, and where the advertisements changed in style, these changes were often reflected in the style and content of the newspaper. Second, the advertisements provide further evidence of the purpose of the *IPN* and the role it played in popular culture. When the newspaper changed its focus, moving away from a sole interest in crime reporting towards a much broader subject matter, with greater sport and leisure content, the advertisements reflected this. The advertisements also offer an opportunity to analyse the potential readerships of the *IPN*. This is especially useful given the lack of evidence of reader response to the *IPN*, a newspaper that even lacked the regular correspondence columns that have frequently been used to assess newspaper readerships.

## Method

In order to examine the types of products advertised, a range of quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The number of advertisements and the type of product advertised was noted for March and September at six-year intervals from 1867 to 1933 (five years before the newspaper ceased publication). The sample of advertisements selected span a large number of years, meaning that the analysis can provide a generalised picture of what

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<sup>5</sup> Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: OUP, 1994); Pasi Falk, *The Consuming Body* (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Roy Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-century Britain: Re-interpretations', *The Economic History Review*, vol 53, No 4 (Nov 2000) 621-645.



readers were spending their money on in this period, and whether any changes occurred, or indeed whether the readership of the newspaper changed. It also allows for a brief consideration of the types of consumer goods readers were buying, when they began to purchase them.<sup>7</sup> The total overall number of advertisements across the month's newspapers was recorded, in addition to the counting of specific types of advertisements. Thereafter, the proportion of specific advertisements across the entire month's newspapers was calculated. This method was chosen instead of counting the column inches, since in the early years of production a large number of very small advertisements were printed in a much smaller space, making the counting of column inches more problematic. The advertisements were separated into the following categories:

1. Popular Literature – cheap literature, both fictional and non-fictional, which included crime pamphlets and romantic fiction. These publications were very similar to the penny bloods and periodical literature printed by George Purkess Senior and his contemporaries from the 1840s onwards.
2. Pornographic material – including pamphlets, books, and postcards.
3. Contraception – including condoms, diaphragms, and manuals.
4. Patent medicine and ailment remedy – medicines.
5. Consumer goods and entertainment – including pocket watches, bicycles, and racing tips.
6. Other – including a limited number of personal advertisements, competitions, business and astrology advertisements.

All advertisements were only counted in one category, despite potential overlaps in several categories. Betting tips and form guides were counted in the consumer goods and

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<sup>7</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 38.

entertainment category, reflecting the rise of mass betting as a working class leisure pursuit. Similarly, pornographic printed literature, which included pamphlets, books, and ‘postcards’, was counted as pornographic material. Printed literature relating to contraception was counted in the contraception category. Additionally, medicines such as abortifacients, which often promised to ‘cure all female irregularities’, were counted as contraception, instead of the patent medicine category. This quantitative analysis allowed for a discussion of long-term trends and patterns.

### **The proportion of the newspaper given to advertising**

Like the majority of Victorian newspapers in the pre-Northcliffe era, the *IPN* was less reliant upon advertisements as a source of income. In an article about the *Illustrated Police News*, featured in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1886, entitled “The Worst Newspaper in England” it was noted that George Purkess ‘never seeks advertisements, but he generally has a column or two, for which he gets £20 a column’.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that like other Victorian newspapers, the *IPN* was more dependent for profit on attracting and retaining the interest of readers, rather than through advertising material.<sup>9</sup> Even after the Harmsworth brothers transformed advertisements from merely a prop to newspaper sales into one of the central elements of the newspaper structure, the number of advertisements featured in the *IPN* did not increase dramatically. This further supports the conclusion that the *IPN* did not undergo the same processes of change as the tabloid press of the early twentieth century.

Figure 2.1 shows a line graph plotting the average number of advertisements featured in sample months of the *IPN*. This total number was calculated by counting all the advertisements in each of the weekly newspapers to find a total for the entire month,

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<sup>8</sup> Pall Mall Gazette, 23 November 1886, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> F. Williams, p.150; H.W. Steed, *The Press* (London,1938), p.143); E.S.Turner; *The Shocking History of Advertising* (London,1952), p.143.

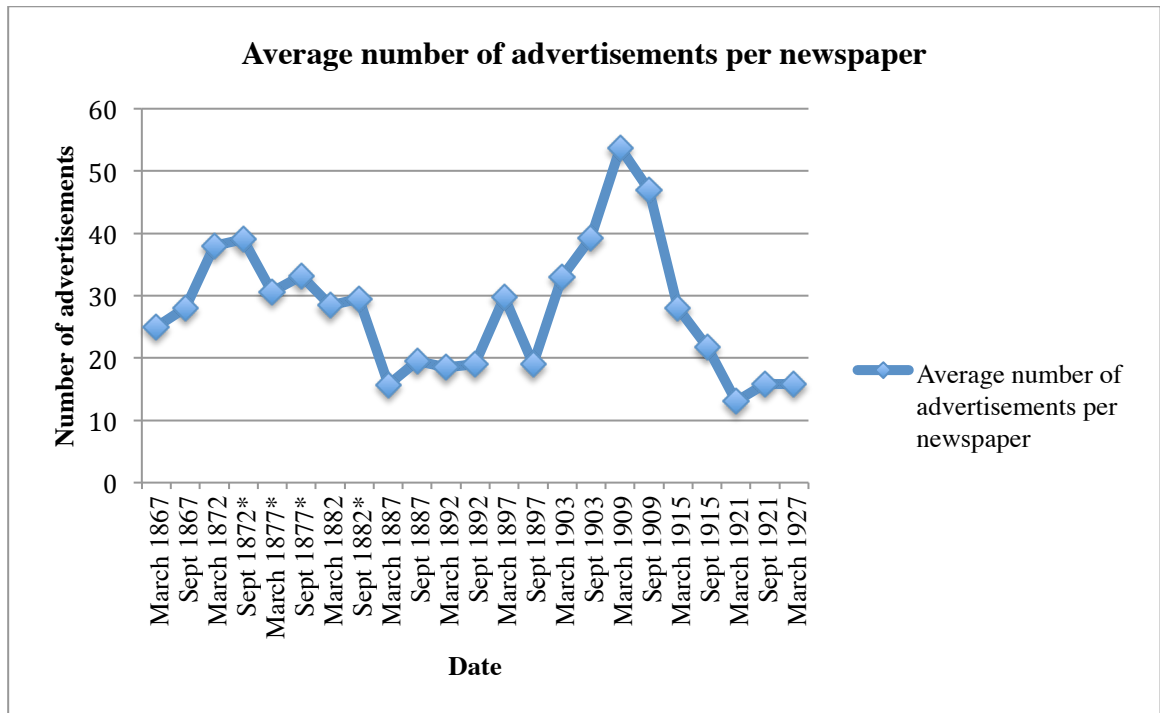
before dividing it by the number of newspapers published in each month. As figure 2.1 demonstrates, the total number of advertisements continued to increase in the *IPN* through the 1860s and early 1870s, until it peaked in 1872, before returning to a consistent level in the late 1880s and early 1890s. This supports Virginia Berridge's thesis on Sunday newspapers and working-class life, which found that advertising material was low in *Lloyd's*, the *Weekly Times* and *Reynolds's* until the mid-1860s, when it expanded.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1887-1897 and 1921-1927 the average number of advertisements remained relatively consistent, at around twenty advertisements per newspaper. However, between 1903 and 1915 there was a spike in advertisements, peaking in March 1909. This large and sudden increase in the number of advertisements in the 1909 sample can be attributed to the change in format of the newspaper, with more pages, and the printing of advertising throughout, instead of simply on the fourth page. After this brief peak the number of advertisements published then returned to the same trend as the nineteenth-century *IPN*, with on average around 20 advertisements per copy of the newspaper.

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<sup>10</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 32

**Figure 2.1: Average number of advertisements per newspaper**



In the first years when the newspaper was limited to four pages in length, measuring about 22 ½ by 17 ½ inches, with six columns of text, advertisements were always featured on the back page of the newspaper, in the far right column. This corresponded with the usual method of Victorian magazine advertising, which was to mass all advertisements together. Like the Victorian magazine reader, the reader of the *IPN* would have been barraged with columns of advertising, often broken into small blocks, only with occasional illustration.<sup>11</sup> This method of block advertising continued until 1894, when the *IPN* increased from four to eight pages, and adopted the twentieth-century convention of placing advertising throughout the newspaper. The turn of the twentieth century saw a number of changes in both the subject matter of the advertisements and their style and positioning. The changes in the positioning of the advertisements were a result of the change in newspaper structure. The addition of more pages resulted in the spread of advertisements across the newspaper, and advertisements began to feature throughout, rather than just on the back page of the

<sup>11</sup> Edward S. Lauterbach, 'Victorian Advertising and Magazine Stripping', *Victorian Studies* vol. 10, No. 4 (Jun, 1967) 431-434, p. 434.

newspaper. The positioning of advertisements in between news articles and features, allows for an analysis of the intended audiences for specific reports and news stories. Unsurprisingly, the Racing Page (page 11) always contained advertisements for racing form tips, bicycles, and in the later years, motorcars, suggesting the intended male audiences for these columns. The weekly instalments of serial fiction, usually located upon page 12, contained advertisements addressed to 'Ladies!' perhaps signalling a female audience for such fiction (although, addressing 'Ladies' did not necessarily mean that such advertisements were intended for purely female audiences).

Looking at the specific content of these advertisements is particularly useful for ascertaining the content and focus of the newspaper. The next section will explore the different proportion of the commodities advertised.

### **Popular literature**

Table 2.1 shows the proportion of the newspaper given to specific types of advertisements, calculated as a percentage of the total number of advertisements. This was achieved by counting all the advertisements printed in the newspaper, categorising them, and then calculating the proportion of specific types of advertisements (expressed as a percentage). As the table demonstrates, the proportion of the newspaper devoted to popular literature fluctuated, and there were 5 distinct phases in the printing of these advertisements: 1867-1872, 1879-1887, 1887-1892, 1897-1903, and 1909-1927. Between March 1867 and September 1872 advertisements for popular literature dominated the *IPN*'s advertisements, with more than half of all advertisements in 1867 for popular literature published by George Purkess. Advertisements for printed material occupied more than half of all advertisements in March 1867 (52 per cent), September 1867 (fifty six per cent) and March 1892 (62 per cent). Between March 1879 and March 1887 this declined slightly, with advertisements for printed material consistently accounting for a quarter of all

advertisements. There was an increase in the number of advertisements for popular literature between September 1887 and September 1892, before number of advertisements declined between March 1897 and September 1903. From 1909 the number of advertisements for popular literature almost completely disappeared.

**Table 2.1: Proportion of newspaper given to advertising (%)**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Popular literature</i>	<i>Pornographic material</i>	<i>Contraception</i>	<i>Patent medicines and ailment remedy</i>	<i>Consumer goods/ entertainment</i>	<i>Other</i>
March 1867	52	13	0	20	8	7
Sept 1867	56	16	0	24	1	3
March 1872	44	3	2	22	12	17
Sept 1872	30	16	3	23	7	23
March 1879	27	24	3	5	33	8
Sept 1879	14	40	8	11	10	17
March 1885	24	5	4	9	42	20
Sept 1885	25	15	0	11	41	8
March 1887	25	8	0	46	11	10
Sept 1887	38	6	0	26	24	5
March 1892	62	0	3	11	24	0
Sept 1892	47	0	11	17	18	7
March 1897	17	3	44	12	18	7
Sept 1897	18	10	20	37	11	0
March 1903	15	11	40	19	15	0
Sept 1903	14	13	41	14	17	1
March 1909	2	8	23	45	22	0
Sept 1909	1	11	32	35	20	4
March 1915	0	0	34	50	16	1
Sept 1915	0	0	48	48	5	5
March 1921	0	8	49	31	12	0
Sept 1921	0	9	53	25	13	0
March 1927	0	6	41	39	14	0

A large proportion of the advertising space prior to George Purkess Junior's death in 1892 was given to advertisements for publications printed by George Purkess. The majority of these printed material advertisements pre-1892 offered readers the opportunity to purchase sixteen-page pamphlets that reproduced the most exciting and entertaining details of notorious crimes, and in particular murders. Predominantly produced by George Purkess, these spin-off publications helped to create and perpetuate the image of the criminal celebrity, which will be explored in chapter 4. The advertisements for these publications presented readers with the same crime narratives employed in the newspaper reporting

surrounding the most sensational and shocking crimes. In particular, the advertisements focused on the three dramatic acts of murder: the crime, the trial, and the execution. The importance of the trial and the witness statements was often stressed in the advertisements, as can be found in the advertisement for the ‘The Trial and Examination of Dr Hunter’:

The Trial and Examination of Dr Hunter  
Containing his Authentic Portrait  
The Examination at Marylebone Police Court  
The trial at the Old Bailey, with interesting particulars never before published.  
Mrs Merrick’s Statement and Appearance in Court.  
Comprised in sixteen handsome pages.<sup>12</sup>

The central importance of the trial and execution was repeatedly stressed, illustrated here in another advertisement promising readers ‘The Life, Trial, and Execution of Dr Lamson, Containing view of Execution, Portrait, and Illustrations’. Interest in the court, and the centrality of court proceedings in the presentation of crime, was also central to the advertisements, in much the same way as in newspaper reports. In addition to the witness statements and information from trials, advertisements also focused upon confessions of the accused. This focus on the confession and the punishment of the offender ensured that the title encapsulated a neat narrative of crime, whereby order and justice were restored. More importantly, the fact that this criminal literature advertised in the newspaper presented all three dramatic acts of crime: the crime, the trial, and the execution, meant that readers were able to buy full accounts – or rather, souvenirs - of the murders.

This would suggest a continuity of the earlier traditions of commemorating famous murders in the early nineteenth century. V.A.C Gatrell argued that pre-1868 execution broadsheets acted as symbols and ‘mementoes of events whose psychic significance is

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<sup>12</sup> *IPN*, 9 March 1867, p. 4.



somehow worth reifying'.<sup>13</sup> Rosalind Crone's study of Victorian entertainment also drew attention to the manufacture of large quantities of cheap souvenirs of violent crime. In addition to printed publications, she highlighted the 'craze for commemorating famous murders in pottery' with the production of earthenware figurines of murderers and models of sites associated with their crimes in the 1820s and 1849.<sup>14</sup> Rohan McWilliam's study of the Tichborne Case and the resulting 'Tichbornemania' also demonstrated the popularity of Staffordshire figurines, which 'served a growing world of working-class consumerism and were a vehicle of identity construction'.<sup>15</sup> He argued that such characters appealed to working class and lower middle-class men and women who had a small disposable income, and probably purchased the characters on impulse, motivated by a desire to commemorate the event that the figurine represented. These earlier figurines represented a 'conjunction of narrative and portraiture'.<sup>16</sup> The publications advertised in the *IPN* offered newspaper readers a similar opportunity to purchase such mementoes. Many included 'authentic portraits', a feature that was always stressed in the advertisements. These pamphlets were also cheap, usually priced at 1s, meaning that readers with a small disposable income would be able to purchase mementoes of stories that they were already familiar with after reading newspaper reporting.

The decline in the number of executions also meant that there was increased coverage of individual cases in order to inflate profits. This meant that there emerged a series of criminal celebrities, upon which the majority of attention fell. This was reflected in the *IPN*'s advertisements for popular literature, which focused on only a select number of criminals. As in the murder reports located in the news section of the newspaper, the

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<sup>13</sup> V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 175.

<sup>14</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 92-95.

<sup>15</sup> Rohan McWilliam, 'The theatricality of the Staffordshire Figurine', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10 (2005), p. 109.

<sup>16</sup> Rohan McWilliam, 'The theatricality of the Staffordshire Figurine', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10 (2005), p. 112.

advertisements continued to concentrate upon the execution of criminals even after the abolition of public execution in 1868. Such was the interest in execution that there were advertisements offering readers the opportunity to purchase the biographies of the executioners. The life stories of hangmen Marwood and Calcraft were regularly advertised in the newspaper (March 1882, September 1882, March 1887). These advertisements promised readers ‘exciting and thrilling romances of criminal life’:

### **Marwood the Hangman**

Complete, price 1s, in handsome wrapper; by post. Set of illustrations, with a magnificent, coloured picture. The remarkable work is a full and complete Life of William Marwood, the “Prince of Hangmen” and forms one of the most *exciting and thrilling romances* of criminal life that has emerged from the press.<sup>17</sup>

### **The life of Calcraft the Hangman**

This Extraordinary *Romance* is published in Penny Weekly Numbers, and will form a complete History of this most remarkable man, Partly Compiled by Himself. It gives an authentic account of the various Executions during his fifty years of office.

G. Purkess, 286, Strand, London, W.C.<sup>18</sup>

These adverts sold the life-stories of these hangmen as both ‘romantic’ extraordinary tales and ‘authentic accounts’, emphasising the relationship between fact and fiction in these publications. A number of more fictional and mythological accounts were advertised next to these factual representations of crime. These publications included ‘Black Bess and Dick Turpin’, ‘Buffalo Bill’ and ‘Blueskin’, which were all repeatedly advertised on the back page of the *IPN*.<sup>19</sup> This offered a continuity of the narratives found in eighteenth-century pamphlet literature, which presented tales of the adventures of ‘picaresque rogues’ or romantic highwayman whilst refusing to acknowledge the social threat presented by the

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<sup>17</sup> *IPN*, 1 September 1888, p. 4, [italics own]

<sup>18</sup> *IPN*, 27 August 1881, p. 4 [italics own]

<sup>19</sup> *IPN*, March and September, 1867, 1872, 1888, p. 4.

offender.<sup>20</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such publications (in addition to the cheap penny dreadful) created something of a panic among middle-class observers, who felt their content encouraged juvenile delinquency.<sup>21</sup> However, studies of working-class autobiographies demonstrate that despite their overwhelming popularity, such publications did not encourage criminal behaviour in youth. Thomas Oakey (b.1852) challenged this link between juvenile delinquency and the publications advertised in the *IPN*: “Demoralizing literature? Well none of us in after life adopted highway robbery as a profession, although each desired to possess a Black Bess and to effect exciting escapes from pursuing Bow Street Runners by ‘rides to York’”.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a South Wales miner (b. 1875?) raised in an orphanage noted the popularity of such mythical characters: “Our real heroes were robbers like Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin, and Charles Peace, whose ‘penny dreadful’ biographies we knew by heart”. Even later in life as a Calvinistic Methodist minister, he did not condemn the genre:

It introduced me to a romantic world when pennies were scarce, and libraries seemed far beyond my reach. We read the badly printed booklets in all sorts of places, even in church; they gave us glimpses of freedom, abandon, and romance, heroism and defiance of fate, whilst we chafed at restrictions and shut doors. True, our heroes...were outlaws. But what boy is not a bandit, a rebel, a pirate at heart! As corrective to natural law breaking propensities, the ‘penny dreadful’ always ended with the punishment of crime.<sup>23</sup>

The newspaper re-advertised the same publications on a weekly and even yearly basis. This re-advertisement suggests that this was an economically viable option, and also built up a catalogue of the most notorious criminals and legends in folklore. The large number

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<sup>20</sup> L.B.Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 193.

<sup>21</sup> Salmon, *Juvenile Literature*, 189-192; Patrick Dunae, ‘Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys’ Literature and Crime’, *Victorian Studies* 22 (1979), pp. 133-150.

<sup>22</sup> Oakey, *Basketful of Memories*, p. 20-22.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. Howard, *Winding Lanes* (Caenarvon: Calvinistic Methodist Printing Works, [1938]), 27-30.

of advertisements for crime publications in the *IPN* until 1892 suggests a need for a reconsideration of the established periodisation of print culture laid out in the introduction. Traditionally, historians have argued that the rise of the newspaper, and the abolition of the public execution had resulted in a notable decline of the broadside trade by 1870.<sup>24</sup> Alongside these changes it was alleged that a mass, commercial leisure industry had emerged, which sought to appeal to larger audiences by removing violence from its entertainments.<sup>25</sup> However, the printing of advertisements for pamphlets about murder and execution until 1890 suggests a continuation of broadside culture, and that violence was still used for entertainment purposes.

In addition to these crime pamphlets, there were also a series of advertisements for useful knowledge books, published by George Purkess. These included *Design and Work, a Home and Shop Companion*, aimed at workmen, and published between 1876 and 1881, which included articles on practical subjects such as wood turning, engraving, photography, and metalwork. Medical handbooks were also prevalent, and included *The Physician, a Family Medical Guide* (originally published by Elliott in 1866, and reprinted by Purkess in 1872 and 1887) and the *Family Doctor and People's Medical Advisor*, published by Purkess from 17 March 1885. It included articles on anatomy and physiology, instructions on the care of the complexion and nursing the sick, recipes for invalid food, book reviews, answers to correspondents, advice on physical exercise and first aid at home. Like the patent medicines, which will be discussed later in the chapter, the whole range of health literature highlighted the popularity of home doctors and treatises. For six-penny stamps readers could receive *Advice and Instructions for the*

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<sup>24</sup> Philippe Chassaingne, 'Popular Representations of Crime: the crime broadside – a subculture of violence in Victorian Britain?', *Histoire, et Sociétés* (1991), vol. 3, no. 2.

<sup>25</sup> FML Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana 1988), pp 246-306.

*Invalid in Search of Health*.<sup>26</sup> They suggest the limited access that poorer readers may have had to medical treatment. This supports Berridge's research which suggested that the persistent and regular advertising of self-medication books revealed the extent of working and lower middle-class 'ignorance in health matters...and the widespread inability to procure proper medical attention'.<sup>27</sup>

After 1892 there was a decline in the advertisement of printed material, and in particular an almost complete removal of advertisements for criminal literature. The only remaining advertisement for criminal literature was one advertisement, which featured weekly in the 1897 and 1903 samples, before completely disappearing. It was an advertisement offering readers the opportunity to purchase a publication about the exploits of Charles Peace. The continued advertisement of this publication was possibly a result of the fact there was a number of copies remaining that had not been sold, but also reflected the perceived economic viability of including these advertisements in the newspaper.

CHARLES PEACE,  
Or,  
THE ADVENTURES OF A NOTORIOUS BURGLAR  
NOW READY  
Complete in 50 Penny Numbers, post free 4s 8d., or in One Volume, bound in cloth, post free, 7s 6d.  
This exciting story will be found of absorbing interest, and contains One Hundred Illustrations, and Portrait of Peace.  
Order at once of your Newsagent.  
"POLICE NEWS" PUBLISHING OFFICE:- ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE,  
FLEET ST., E.C.

After this date advertisements for popular literature pertaining to crime completely disappeared. After 1903, the only printed books advertised in the sample studied related to contraceptive advice, which has been counted alongside contraceptive advertisements. The decline of popular literature could be the result of several inter-related factors. First

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<sup>26</sup> *The IPN*, 22 September 1877, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886', p. 181.

and most important, was the death of George Purkess on 10 December 1892. When Purkess and Co Ltd (with no connection to Purkess) took over the *IPN* they no longer had the same vested interest in selling George Purkess's other publications, which had constituted the majority of popular literature advertisements. Second, it would seem that the decline in the number of advertisements for crime publications also reflected the changing focus of the newspaper, and more broadly the leisure activities undertaken by these readers. This changing focus was not only reflected in the changing content of the newspaper (explored in chapter one), but also in the changing way in which the newspaper was described in the Advertiser's Handbooks. By 1937, the *IPN* is listed under the heading of *Magazines, Reviews and Periodicals of Great Britain, N. Ireland and Eire*, rather than under 'London Newspaper Press'. Its distinctive features are listed first and foremost as 'Articles on Racing, Football, Cricket, Police Court Cases &c. And Latest News'.<sup>28</sup> Police court cases and news rank beneath sport reporting. The newspaper's crime focus was no longer accentuated, and the publication was classified as a magazine, rather than as a newspaper, perhaps suggesting further rationale for the decline in advertisements for printed material about crime.

The declining proportion of advertisements for popular literature, in particular pertaining to crime, cannot be used as evidence of the success of the civilising process, or the rising respectability of the newspaper. Advertisements for publications were replaced by advertisements for contraception and patent medicines, in addition to racing form, alongside a continuing number of advertisements for pornographic material. These commodities continued to be regarded as sensational, with the newspaper continuing to act as a gateway to more illicit interests and practices.

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<sup>28</sup> *The Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers' Guide*, (London: C. Mitchell & co. Ltd, 1938)

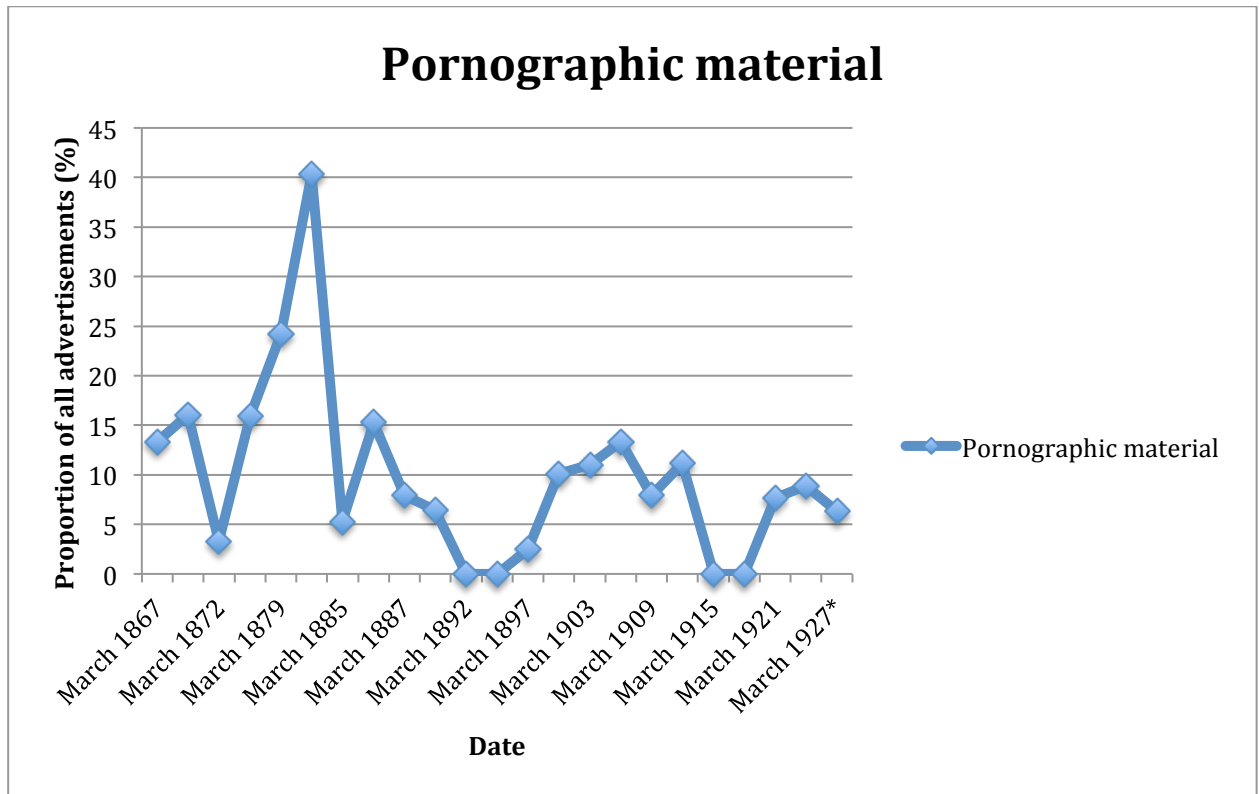
## Pornographic Material

Figure 2.2, which illustrates the percentage proportion of the newspaper given to specific types of advertisements, demonstrates the popularity of pornographic material. Advertisements for pornographic material did not decline in the twentieth century, as was the case in other publications. Figure 2.3 is a line graph that plots the proportion of the total number of advertisements given to pornographic material. It clearly demonstrates that with the exception of March and September 1879, when the proportion of pornographic material advertised was unusually high (forty per cent in September 1879), the number of advertisements for pornographic material remained relatively static, hovering around ten per cent of all products advertised. The absence of advertisements for any pornographic material at all in March and September 1915 might be the result of a number of factors, including the war (as a result of the sampling strategy, only March and September 1915 were the only First World War newspapers counted). It might also be the result of a recent prosecution for advertising pornographic material. The report to the Select Committee on Patent Medicines even noted that the *IPN* was prosecuted under the Police Office Act in December 1913 for its ‘photobits’ advertisements.<sup>29</sup> The publishers were fined £10 and costs for sending indecent matter through the post. However, the report confirmed that that this prosecution most likely referred to the illustrations that were distributed, rather than the advertisements themselves.

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<sup>29</sup> Report from the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices (1914: HL 414, para 4697), p. 277.

Figure 2.2: Proportion of all advertisements given to pornographic material (%)



The continued inclusion of such pornographic material even when other publications stopped such advertisements could signal many things about the readership of the newspaper. The prevalence of advertisements for pornographic literature in the *IPN* is not necessarily an indication of working-class taste for such material. When many of the other working-class newspapers had stopped advertising such material, the *IPN* continued to feature these advertisements. The concentration of all these specific advertisements pertaining to sex could suggest something more than simply a working-class taste for sensational material. Instead readers, including those from the ‘respectable middle-class’, could have purchased the newspaper specifically to access these other publications. In this way the *IPN* acted as a gateway to the marginal for its readers.



## Patent Medicines

Advertisements for patent medicines remained the most constantly advertised product throughout the period of study. Apart from an anomalous period (1877-1882, where they constituted as little as five per cent of the total number of advertisements), they occupied roughly between twenty per cent and half of all advertisements. In the mid and late nineteenth century the dominance of such patent medicines was not unusual. It has long been acknowledged that patent medicines have played a crucial role in the history of modern advertising.<sup>30</sup> As figure 2.2 demonstrates, whilst the proportion of advertisements for patent medicines increased in the twentieth century, from 17 per cent of all advertisements in September 1892 to between 35 and 50 per cent between 1909 and 1915, after the First World War the proportion of advertisements for patent medicines began to fall, and in September 1921 it was as low as 25 per cent. This fall in the number of advertisements reflected the decline of the patent medicine industry. Post-First World War, patent medicine died out and were largely replaced by the products of large pharmaceutical companies, many of which date from the 1920s.<sup>31</sup>

The dubious nature of these patent medicines, many of them for ‘cures’ of sexual diseases, resulted in the respectability of the newspaper being called into question. The content of the patent medicine advertisements found within the *IPN* focused on a whole range of illnesses, promising to cure and remedy all ailments. The advertisements were rarely explicit or specific; they never mentioned anything vulgar like poxes or sexually transmitted diseases, instead suggesting a malaise, or something more concerning using terms like ‘debility’ or ‘exhaustion’. Advertisements addressing ‘Weak Men’ offered readers:

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<sup>30</sup> Pasi Falk, *The Consuming Body* (London: Sage, 1994), p. 162.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 209.

A safe and sure CURE of GENERAL WEAKNESS, SPINAL EXHAUSTION, PHYSICAL DECAY and LOSS OF NERVE POWER VARIACOCLE, SPERMATORRHEA, IMPOTENCY &c., &c.. They are a Unique and Wonderful. Specific for men. Eventually restore lost vitality and stamina. Counteract results of late hours, abuse and excesses.

The above advertisement was a typical patent advertisement, mirroring many of the mid to late nineteenth-century advertisements for patent medicines within the popular press. First, despite their generic address, such advertisements singled out individual readers and addressed them.<sup>32</sup> Second, there was a tendency for these advertisements to use scare tactics when referring to things such as ‘physical decay’ and ‘lost vitality’. Third, the advertisements were also overly optimistic, promising a ‘safe and sure cure’ as a result of their ‘unique and wonderful’ powers.<sup>33</sup> However, the newspaper continued to print such advertisements into the twentieth century, unlike *Reynolds’s* and *Lloyd’s*, which saw a decline in the number of advertisements for home medicines to rid themselves of sexual diseases. This continued printing of the same advertisements when other publications had ceased to publish such material, continues to build a picture of the *IPN* as a newspaper that, although changed in many ways, still employed a number of dated printing and publishing practices. It offered readers a gateway to the more marginal material, and confirming its reputation as a low-brow newspaper.

Virginia Berridge’s research on the Sunday newspapers suggested that for many contemporary critics, the advertisement of patent medicines, with their fraudulent and false claims, provided an index for the lack of respectability of a publication. The damaging impact of these advertisements was a subject that excited much interest in the early twentieth century. On 11 February 1912 the Select Committee of the House of Commons

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<sup>32</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 195.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 187.

convened to assess the damage of the manufacture, sale, and consumption of patent medicines. The chairman of the Select Committee would note the appeal of these advertisements to the poorest classes:

It is very much simpler and probably cheaper to go into a shop and pay 1½ d for a bottle of something which you get a lot of doses, than to have medical attendance; it is very much less trouble; it involves no physical examination, no embarrassment of any kind, and no questioning, a kind of thing which many poor people shrink from...<sup>34</sup>

In addition to the Select Committee on Patent Medicines (1912), the BMA investigation into ‘Secret Remedies’ and the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases (1917) confirmed that there were a large number of patent advertisements in all newspapers, and only the *Spectator* excluded every single one.<sup>35</sup> However, the investigations found that the numbers of advertisements increased in the weekly papers, and the largest number of advertisements of ‘the most undesirable class’ was to be found in the Sunday papers specialising in crime and sensationalism.<sup>36</sup> The *IPN* was specifically referenced as a damaging print within the 1912 and 1917 report. This supports the argument that even when the crime content of both reporting and advertisements declined, the *IPN* continued to act as a gateway to more marginal material. There remained a concern about the power of the *IPN* to corrupt, and the advertisements in particular continued to cause criticism. The *Report from the Select Committee on Patent Medicines* (1914) claimed that the advertisements were for ‘the worst specimens possible’.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the report reiterated the contradictions of the late nineteenth-century view that suggested that the *IPN* was marginal but had a high

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<sup>34</sup> Report of the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, 1912-1913, (508) Q.2613;

<sup>35</sup> Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds’s Newspaper, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times’ (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 270.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990),

<sup>37</sup> *Select Committee on Patent Medicines* (Parl. Papers, 1914, IX), p. 266.

circulation. In its record of the minutes of evidence taken before Lieutenant-Colonel Everitt, the report published the following examination:

Is it your experience then that a great deal of this objectionable advertising is done in papers of so low a class as these you have handed in [*IPN* included], the existence of which is practically unknown to ordinary people like ourselves? – Quite so; but they have a very large sale.<sup>38</sup>

### **Contraception**

For a number of years in the nineteenth century, the *IPN* had distributed a range of advertisements, which promised to help ‘cure’ ladies of a range of irregularities, and act as abortifacients. These advertisements were sold under the promise of ‘restor[ing] female regularity’ and ‘removing from the system every impurity.’ In the vernacular of such advertising, “irregularity,” “obstruction,” “menstrual suppression,” and “delayed period” were all recognised as euphemistic references to the state of pregnancy and marketed as menstrual regulatives. However, from the beginning of the twentieth century a range of advertisements offering readers ‘Rubber Goods’ began to proliferate. Figure 2.2 demonstrates that these advertisements began to take over the whole advertising content of the newspaper. By 1900, the *IPN* regularly featured advertisements for ‘Rubber Skin Specialities’, as was advertised on the front page of the newspaper on 29 September 1900. Combined with advertisements for patent medicines, advertisements for rubber goods and contraception advice, constituted the largest proportion of advertisements printed in the *IPN*, and the proportion of newspaper advertisements relating to sex increased steadily throughout the century. From March 1897 the quantity of advertisements for contraceptive products dramatically increased and between September 1909 and 1927 the advertisements for rubber goods and birth control never fell beneath a third of the proportion of all advertisements. In many months as much as 53 per cent (September 1921) of all products

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid, pp. 266-267.

advertised were for contraceptives. Readers could be confronted with pages full of advertisements for such goods, in addition to offers to purchase a range of pornographic books and prints, as this average page from 6 March 1909 demonstrates (figure 2.3).

The advertisements emphasised the durability and safety of the condoms and diaphragms. Advertisements regularly announced the sale of ‘Safe Rubber Goods’, and emphasised that they were ‘tested and guaranteed’ and ‘hygienic’.<sup>39</sup> The advertisements also frequently contained the name of the brand in large print, with popular brands including: Morrison’s, Venus, and P.N. Hygienic stores. This emphasis upon the brand and reputation of the producer sought to further emphasise the reliability of these goods. In addition to advertisements for rubber goods, the newspaper explicitly began to advertise ‘Birth Control’ from March 1927. The first such large advertisement, informed readers:

Very Important Announcement  
Concerning  
**BIRTH CONTROL**  
Do not delay, write at once for full  
Details to  
**W. J. Rendell,**  
Manufacturing Druggists,  
15 Chadwell Street,  
London, E.C.1  
(Postage Refunded)

In addition to rubber goods and diaphragms, readers were also offered the opportunity to purchase books offering contraceptive advice.

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<sup>39</sup> *The IPN*, 3 March 1927, p. 7.

Marriage and its consequences. Send 2 stamps for “Wife’s Book”. Full of Valuable information. How to avoid large families. Recommended by eminent Physicians. Dr P. Balfour, US Central Dispensary, 174, Kingsland Road, London.

The content of such advertisements allows us to see why the publication was looked upon distastefully by contemporary critics. But the advertisements also further suggest the role played by the newspaper as a gateway, allowing readers the opportunity to purchase products that they otherwise may have found difficulty accessing. For as little as 1s readers could be sent a sample of six ‘rubber goods’, when otherwise the only other places they could purchase them would be rubber-goods shops or mail order companies.<sup>40</sup> The role played by some newspapers in advertising such material was also highlighted by those giving evidence to the Select Committee on Patent Medicines, although they suggested that such advertisements featured only in low-class papers, ‘practically unknown to ordinary people’.<sup>41</sup> These advertisements for contraception may have in part been intended for a middle class rather than a working class audience. Simon Szreter and Kate’s Fisher’s study of sex and intimacy between 1918 and 1963 found that middle-class couples were more likely to use barrier methods of contraception than working class couples, as a result of the cultures which had more space to discuss sexual preferences. There were geographical variations in addition to these class dimensions. Working-class couples in the northern location, Blackburn, were more likely to use withdrawal, whereas the acceptance of condoms was much greater in working-class Hertfordshire.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Roy Porter, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950* (Yale University Press, 1995), p. 258.

<sup>41</sup> Roy Porter, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950* (Yale University Press, 1995), p. 258.

<sup>42</sup> Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918–1963* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).



**Figure 2.3: The *IPN*, 6 March 1909, p. 15.**

[illegible]

## Consumer goods and entertainment

Advertisements are very useful sources for discerning the living standards and material aspirations of readers. They can provide a rich source of information about the type of consumer goods working-class people wanted (or aspired) to purchase, roughly how much they cost, and when they became readily available. By the 1860s and 1870s, rising incomes, combined with the bounty of industrial manufacture, carried the tide of consumption to new heights. Between the mid-nineteenth century and the Second World War, Britons enjoyed the highest average standard of living in Europe.<sup>43</sup> This new world of materiality has been illustrated by a rich literature on the cultural relationship between consumers and the objects they purchased or aspired to own.<sup>44</sup> Many of these studies, including Deborah Cohen's *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions*, are concerned with middle-class buyers and taste, whilst the advertisements in the *IPN* offer the opportunity to gain an insight a wider group of purchasers and their aspirations.

In keeping with the evidence found in Virginia Berridge's study of popular working-class newspapers, advertisements within the *IPN* suggest that consumer choice similarly expanded considerably for a proportion of the working class and lower middle class.<sup>45</sup> This was reflected in the increased number of consumer products advertised within the *IPN* in the 1870s and 1880s. Figure 2.1 highlights this spike in advertisements for consumer products, with 33 per cent of all advertisements in March 1879 offering consuming goods, increasing up to 42 per cent and 41 per cent respectively in March and September 1882. Whilst such advertisements usually reflected the standards of better-off readers, they still can provide information about working-class patterns and expenditure. E. S. Lauterbach's study of Victorian advertising stressed the value of Victorian advertisements in providing

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<sup>43</sup> Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possession* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> John Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980* (New York, 1994).

<sup>45</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 281



an insight into ‘Victorian tastes and mores’, indicating ‘what the Victorians were, what they ate, what they used as household utensils, household ornaments, and household furniture, what they did for entertainment, what patent medicines and beauty aids they used, what men smoked, what women favoured in perfume – the list is endless’.<sup>46</sup> Whilst the advertisements may not necessarily reflect the items which all newspaper readers purchased, and many would have been out of reach of a number of the poorer readers, they do represent the aspirations, or interest of those readers.

The large increase in advertisements in 1879 and 1882 can largely be attributed to the advertisement of ‘pocket time pieces’. The gold watch, along with the piano, became the 1880s upper working-class status symbol, particularly for ‘industrious working men’.<sup>47</sup> This corresponds with Berridge’s study, which showed that watch advertising remained low between the 1850s and 1870s, with an average of between 1 and 2 ads an issue. Other commodities advertised within the newspaper include sewing machines, male grooming (in particular moustache growing), and harpsichords. Early twentieth-century commodities advertised included offers to rent or buy second hand bicycles.<sup>48</sup> Field glasses, presumably for use when horse racing, also began to be advertised.

Almost all the entertainment advertisements from the twentieth century related specifically to the advertisement of racing tips, which for the price of 2s, would provide readers with ‘Saturday Snips’, or ‘Discretionary One-Horse Wires’.<sup>49</sup> The growing number of front-page mastheads containing advertisements for racing tips (previously, masthead advertisements had usually offered ‘rubber goods’) indicates the growing importance of

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<sup>46</sup> E. S. Lauterbach, ‘Victorian Advertising and Magazine Stripping’ (Victorian Studies, June 1967) p 434.

<sup>47</sup> E. P. Thompson, ‘Work, Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism’, *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967), p. 70; Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular journalism and working class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds’s Newspaper, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times’ (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 266.

<sup>48</sup> *The IPN*, 5 September 1905, p. 15.

<sup>49</sup> *The IPN*, 27 March 1909, p. 11.

these advertisements and their ability to sell newspapers. 22 per cent of advertisements in 1909 offered readers the opportunity to purchase racing tips, which were produced and distributed by the 'Racing Editor' of the *Police News*. This large number of advertisements offering readers betting tips just three years after the introduction of the 1906 Street Betting Act suggests that a sizable proportion of the newspaper's readers would have been betting illegally. The network of off-course betting on horses came into existence in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was made up of the street bookmaker (colloquially known as the bookie), his agents (the 'runners', touts and lookouts) and the punters. The betting transaction took place in a number of ways and varied according to the size of the bookmakers' operations, and the smallest bookmakers usually did business from a street pitch.<sup>50</sup> The opportunity to purchase racing tips offered readers access to information that they could use when placing their illegal bets. Thus, once again the newspaper acted as a gateway to marginal interests and illicit practices. The success of these advertisements in drawing an additional income for the newspaper can perhaps be assumed by the newspaper company's decision to increase its sport content, before the *IPN* ceased publication and the *Sporting Record* was launched in 1938. Whilst the content information may have been different, there were a number of similarities between the advertisements for these sporting form guides and the crime publications published by George Purkess and advertised in the newspaper pre-1890s. Both types of publication provided readers with the opportunity to consume more of the same information they already enjoyed reading in the newspaper – pre-1890s this was crime reportage, and in the twentieth century this was sporting form. Moreover, these advertisements were similarly priced to the crime publications, appealing to those with limited disposable income.

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<sup>50</sup> Mark Clapson, *A bit of a flutter: popular gambling and English society, c. 1823-1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992). p. 44.

## Conclusion

Whilst the *IPN* adopted a number of the same changes as publications (including *Reynolds's* and *Lloyd's*), the contrast between advertisements in the *IPN* and those found in the mainstream press became more pronounced during the twentieth century. Changes include the introduction of a number of advanced printing techniques facilitated by developments in print culture, in particular more white space, bolder typefaces, and advertisements throughout the newspaper. The *IPN* also saw the near complete removal of advertisements for printed material (in particular the removal sensational crime literature advertisements) from March 1892. Prior to this point, popular literature, in particular crime publications related to the trial and execution of an alleged criminal, were the dominant advertisement printed. However, after the death of the proprietor, George Purkess, and with the increasing move away from the newspaper's serial reporting of famous crimes and trials, advertisements for these publications declined. This suggested a move away from the influence of broadsides. Instead, there was a rise in advertisements for patent medicines, but also form and betting guides. This suggests the changing leisure practices of the *IPN* reader between 1867 and 1938, and a move towards seeking entertainment from sport.

However, the *IPN* continued to advertise Patent Medicines, with the number of advertisements for these quack medicines increasing, in contrast to other popular newspapers that phased out such advertisements. The *IPN* also continued to provide readers with the opportunity to purchase pornographic material as well as extensively advertising rubber goods and birth control. This increased number of advertisements satisfying the sexual needs of the newspaper's readers suggests that the *IPN* positioned itself as a gateway for readers, allowing them to access material, including contraception, pornography, patent medicines and betting form, which may have otherwise been difficult to obtain.

The use of these advertisements to locate newspaper readers is problematic. Unlike autobiographical accounts and further qualitative evidence, including interviews with George Purkess, the advertisements do not directly identify specific readers. Whilst it is known that horse racing, football, and betting were largely working class interests and leisure activities, it is impossible to suggest that other advertisements, including those for pornography and contraception, were targeted entirely at a working class audience. In particular, as the discussion of contraceptive advertisements demonstrated, these advertisements could have been used by middle-class readers to access commodities considered to be taboo. As the *IPN* had a reputation for its sensational and risqué advertisements, readers looking to access such content would know that they could find it within the *IPN*.



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## Picturing Crime

### Introduction

As the newspaper's title suggests, illustration was at the very centre of the *Illustrated Police News* (IPN). In the early years of publication readers would crowd around the window of the newspaper's offices in order to catch a glimpse of the latest front-page illustrations, and illustrations continued to dominate the front pages of the newspaper into the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> These illustrations were a selling device, and their position on the front page meant that they needed to capture the attention of readers and encourage sales. It is therefore unsurprising, given their central position and often-sensational nature, that these woodcuts should have attracted the most attention from academics, researchers and readers alike. This instant shock value has led to two books, Leonard de Vries, *'Orrible Murder* (1971) and Steve Jones, *The Illustrated Police News* (2002), which have simply reproduced the most graphic, gruesome, and entertaining front-page illustrations and their accompanying reports.<sup>2</sup> However, such studies, by selecting material for reproduction based solely on its capacity to entertain readers, rather than its representativeness of newspaper content, have further distorted the image of the IPN. A notable exception is Linda Stratmann's book, *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities* (2011), which has attempted to contextualise these illustrations, and give an overview of the typical illustrations, and their key tropes. However, a quantitative analysis of illustration in the IPN is still required, providing a clear understanding of the subjects and crimes most likely to be illustrated and if there were any important changes or continuities throughout the

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Worst Newspaper in England', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard de Vries, *'Orrible Murder: An anthology of Victorian crime and passion: compiled from 'The Illustrated Police News* (London: MacDonald, 1971); Steve Jones, *The Illustrated Police News: Victorian Court Cases and Sensational Stories* (Nottingham: Wicked publications, 2002).

newspaper's publishing life. This research would help to situate the *IPN* within existing narratives about print and popular culture during the period.

This chapter will provide a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of illustration within the *IPN*. Instead of focusing exclusively upon the most exciting, famous, or unusual cases, the chapter will first consider the production practices employed by the *IPN*, describing how the illustrations were produced, and how these production methods differed from those employed by other illustrated newspapers of the period. This chapter will highlight how the content and subject of the *IPN*'s illustrations – predominantly illustrations of violent crimes, their discovery and the distribution of justice or punishment - had an impact upon the newspaper's illustration production methods. The decision to illustrate these dramatic scenes meant that even after the widespread introduction of the photograph into newspapers in 1904, only the woodcut could consistently capture such dramatic scenes.

Using a quantitative analysis, the chapter will analyse the subjects the newspaper chose to illustrate, and whether the scenes illustrated changed over time. The chapter will demonstrate that there was much continuity in the newspaper's use of illustration, but that there were also some vital changes. Crime, and in particular the depiction of violent crime and murder, was the most frequently illustrated subject, and remained so during the whole period under study. However, the way in which the newspaper chose to visually depict these violent crimes changed. The *IPN* moved away from a 'serial' depiction of crime, which provided weekly updates on notorious crimes and criminals in the build up to their execution. By the twentieth century, such serial depictions had disappeared, and readers were presented with one-off depictions of the moment of the crime, its detection, or the processes of justice and punishment. The decline of this serial depiction of current and unfolding crime occurred around the same time as the decline in the number of advertisements for spin-off publications about crime in 1892. Whilst these serial 'news'

depictions of crime had disappeared in the twentieth century, the *IPN* started to introduce serial histories of criminals of the past, and these accounts were accompanied by illustrations. The chapter will also demonstrate the disruptive impact of the Boer War and First World War upon the *IPN*'s illustrations. In much the same way that the majority of crime reporting was replaced by news reports about the war, illustrations of the war, which depicted either fighting on the front or the effects of war upon the home front, largely displaced illustrations of crime. The end of the war also had an impact upon the newspaper's illustration in the post-war period. In the aftermath of both the Boer War and the First World War the proportion of the newspaper's illustrations depicting violent crime increased.

The chapter will highlight the position adopted by the *IPN* as the bridge between the older forms of print culture, such as broadsides and penny bloods, with the developments in print culture, in particular those associated with 'New Journalism'. Throughout the chapter, the various sections will discuss how this correlated with other forms of nineteenth and twentieth-century print culture, and culture more widely, and what these illustrations tell us, if anything, about a civilising, or taming process.

### **Reading and viewing practices**

As established in the previous chapters, evidence suggests that during its highpoint over 300,000 copies of the *IPN* were sold weekly.<sup>3</sup> There is little evidence of the reading and viewing practices of the newspaper's readers, but what exists suggests that the illustrations formed a central part of reader experience, particularly in the late-nineteenth century. Illustrations were used as a selling device, and in the late nineteenth century it was reported that readers would crowd around the windows of the newspaper's offices in order

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<sup>3</sup> *Successful advertising: its secrets explained*, reprinted in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 September 1889, p. 3.



to catch a glimpse of the front-page illustrations.<sup>4</sup> These illustrations appealed to both one-off casual purchasers in addition to regular subscribers. The *IPN* could attract one-off purchasers who were interested in specific crimes. George Purkess told a reporter in 1886 that ‘we always have a large sale in the district of the tragedy, incident, or casualty which we illustrate’, showing continuity with older forms of print culture, in particular the broadside.<sup>5</sup>

Readers of the *IPN* used these illustrations to decorate the bare walls of their homes. A parliamentary report provides evidence of people collecting illustrations from the *IPN* as early as 1869, with the walls of a cottage in the Berkshire village of Burghfield ‘largely adorned with sheets of the ‘Police News’’.<sup>6</sup> The use of a centre page of illustrations between 1900 and 1918, which could be pulled out of the newspaper, suggests that the *IPN* continued to encourage the practice of collecting and displaying illustrations into the twentieth century. This offered a continuation of early nineteenth-century practices. Nearly thirty years prior to the 1869 parliamentary report Henry Mayhew’s study of London’s labour and poor found a woman that covered a great portion of the wall of her room with cheap engravings “given away with No. 6” of some periodical of “thrilling interest”.<sup>7</sup> It was claimed by Mayhew that the increasing prevalence of such woodcuts and engravings in periodicals and newspapers had diminished the sale of framed prints in the marketplace.<sup>8</sup>

There is also evidence to suggest that the newspaper’s illustrations attracted a number of regular purchasers. Thomas Wright, journeyman engineer, recalled how during the late nineteenth century his landlady, an outwardly respectable, ‘clean, industrial, honest old

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<sup>4</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and women in Agriculture, 1868-69, 2<sup>nd</sup> Report, p. 399.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Constable, 1968), vol 1, p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Constable, 1968), vol 1, p. 304.

woman', would regularly 'sup' the *IPN* 'full of its horrors'. In particular she 'read' the portrait illustrations and:

Being fully persuaded that the so-called likenesses in it were life-like portraits, she would comment upon them, saying that one had a hanging look, that villain was written on the face of another, or that she could see murder or burglary peeping out of the eye of a third. Nor was she at all disconcerted, or her belief in her own powers as a physiognomist in the least shaken, when it was sometimes pointed out to her that she had taken the victim of a murder to be the perpetrator of it.<sup>9</sup>

Not only does this autobiographical account suggest that the newspaper encouraged regular readers, but that it also actively shaped how people perceived crime and criminals; readers felt they could distinguish between murderers and thieves based on their facial appearance. This encouraged readers to become involved in these cases, as spectators, but more importantly as investigators. Dan Vyleta's study of Viennese newspapers between 1895 and 1914 also highlighted how court reporting encouraged readers to 'read criminals', and transformed court trials into a 'detective riddle that journalist and reader solved through private observation'.<sup>10</sup> Whilst there is only fragmentary evidence about reading and viewing practices, the little that exists adds further weight to the idea that the *IPN* sought to attract as wide an audience as possible, largely by continuing many of the publishing practices employed by the street literature of the nineteenth century.

## Creation

Before the emergence of the *IPN* there was already an established tradition of the illustration of crime, justice, and punishment in print. Rosalind Crone's study of popular entertainment in nineteenth-century London provides evidence of such street literature, including Newgate Calendars, which were often illustrated with fine engravings, and

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas Wright, *The Bane of a Life* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1870), pp. 157-158.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel M. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews, and News: Vienna 1895-1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 102.

broadsides, which from the 1820s provided more illustrations of crime scenes, portraits of criminals and victims and sometimes the courtroom's interior, in addition to the gallows' scenes.<sup>11</sup> However, the *IPN* emerged in a period during which illustration and illustrated journals were becoming more widespread. These new journals emerged and expanded as a result of a number of technical, political, and economic developments, including the cheapening of materials of production, the removal of newspaper taxes, advances in printing technology, and expanding railway lines allowing wider circulation, combined with an increased public appetite for newspapers and the illustration of calamities.<sup>12</sup> The early nineteenth-century police gazette and crime reporting was central to the development of graphic journalism in the 1830s and 1840s. Celina Fox found that the *Police Gazette* used four key components which were also apparent in graphic journalism: first, the influence from the old broadside tradition; second, the importance of 'useful' knowledge and middle-class concern; third, working-class politics and satire; fourth the growth of popular literature and news journalism.<sup>13</sup> However, she notes that by the 1860s, the working-class politics and concern for 'useful' knowledge were largely removed from graphic journalism.<sup>14</sup> Patricia Anderson's study of the printed image and the transformation of popular culture between 1830 and 1860 reached similar conclusions, finding that the printed word and its associated imagery reached out to a new, 'mass audience', the hallmark of which was its illustration.<sup>15</sup>

At the formation of the *IPN* in 1864 there were a number of other illustrated newspapers, most notably the *Illustrated London News (ILN)* and *The Graphic*. The *ILN* (1842-2003)

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<sup>11</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 77, p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> 'Illustrated Journalism: Its past and its future', *The Contemporary Review*, 75 (1899), p. 482; Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England during the 1830s and 1840s* (New York: Garland, 1988), p. 158.

<sup>14</sup> Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England during the 1830s and 1840s* (New York: Garland, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 2.

was the first illustrated newspaper. When interviewed for the *Pall Mall Gazette*'s feature on the *Illustrated Police News*, George Purkess specifically compared the illustrations in the *IPN* with those in *The Graphic* and the *ILN*, noting "we are also credited with giving the best portraits published by any journal, not excluding the *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic*".<sup>16</sup> Although George Purkess compared the *IPN* to the *ILN* and *The Graphic*, the newspapers sought to attract different audiences. The *ILN* and *The Graphic* were both priced at a sixpence, whereas the *IPN* was priced at one penny, seeking to attract a much wider and largely working-class audience.<sup>17</sup> This did not necessarily mean that these publications always chose to illustrate different scenes, or that their purposes were always widely different. The first similarity between the *IPN* and the *ILN* was that their commercial success depended upon their publication of illustrations. Herbert Ingram, the proprietor of the *ILN* had remarked that he had decided to start the *ILN* after noticing that 'when a newspaper published a picture, the scale was wonderfully increased; so I thought to myself what a success a paper would be of all pictures'.<sup>18</sup> The *ILN* also used the depiction of crime to increase sales of the newspaper. On the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *ILN* a report appeared in the press that Ingram had initially considered making his paper 'merely a record of crime', an allegation which drew a vehement denial from his widow. Although Ingram probably never intended to be a police gazette from the outset, the *ILN* did cover crime as thoroughly as its intended audience wished – vividly illustrated, but written and edited to remove vulgarity.<sup>19</sup> The *ILN*'s desire to distance itself from these crime engravings, is evident in the written reports that accompanied the engravings of the Daniel Good case in 1842:

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<sup>16</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886.

<sup>17</sup> Ellegard used newspaper price as one of four criteria (including general appearance and tone, information from internal newspaper information, and information from advertisers) to gauge newspaper readership, see Alvar Ellegard, *The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Goteburg:Goteburg Universitets. Arsskrift, 1957)

<sup>18</sup> Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England During the 1830s and 1840s*

<sup>19</sup> Richard Altick, *Victorian in Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), pp. 60-1.

It is not our intention to disfigure the pages of the “Illustrated News” with engravings, especially connected with crime and its consequences; we do not profess to be of the “raw head and bloody-bones” school, nor do we desire to encourage the tastes of such are only gratified with pictorial representations of murders and murderers; but in the case of the man, now counting the few last hours that separate him from eternity, the crime for which he will suffer, as well as the revolting circumstances attending it, give a more general interest to the affair than ordinary offences of this character possess.<sup>20</sup>

However, in the nineteenth century the main difference between the *IPN* and its illustrated competitors was the proportion of illustrations devoted to violent crime in relation to other illustrations. Upon its publication it was the only newspaper to focus solely upon the week’s crimes and sensational events, and despite the existence of rival newspapers like George Purkess’s *Illustrated Police Gazette* (1867) and the *Police Gazette: Or London by Gaslight* (1871); or Charles Shurey’s *The Illustrated Police Budget* (1893), it remained the most popular illustrated crime newspaper of period.<sup>21</sup>

There were also important similarities between the purpose, style, and content of illustrations in the *IPN* and those featured in the boys’ periodicals, or the Penny Dreadful press. Like the *IPN*, the boys’ story papers were dependent upon their front-page illustrations to attract readers or boost flagging circulations.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, most boys’ story papers featured a large picture on the front cover, illustrating a dramatic incident – involving outlaws, murderers, kidnappers, wild animals, sinking ships, falls from cliff-tops, and other perilous situations – all largely drawn from the serial stories inside’.<sup>23</sup> The production methods of these periodicals offer further similarities – the boys’ periodicals did not adopt the photographic processes used by some periodicals from the 1890s.

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<sup>20</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1842, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> *The Newspaper Press Directory* (London: Benn Brothers, 1895).

<sup>22</sup> Robert J. Kirkpatrick, *From the Penny Dreadful to the Ha’Penny Dreadfuller: A Bibliographic History of the Boys’ Periodical in Britain, 1762-1950* (London: British Library Press, 2013), p.13.

<sup>23</sup> Robert J. Kirkpatrick, *From the Penny Dreadful to the Ha’Penny Dreadfuller: A Bibliographic History of the Boys’ Periodical in Britain, 1762-1950* (London: British Library Press, 2013), p.13.

Instead some publishers chose to continue to use engravings well into the twentieth century, recycling old ones.<sup>24</sup>

The real differences between the *IPN* and its competitors emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike other newspapers intended for a popular audience, the *IPN* did not introduce the photograph. The earliest magazines to adopt photography often contained little news, instead specialising in the imaging of leisure and fashion. These included the *Ladies Pictorial* and the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, where the images included numerous portraits of personalities as well as predictable ceremonies and prearranged events.<sup>25</sup> However, from the 1890s the photograph became more widely used in the newspaper press as well as in these periodicals. The development of the half-tone press, which allowed the photograph to be reproduced through screens, coincided with the emergence with new daily and weekly newspapers such as *Tit Bits*, *Strand Magazine*, and the *Daily Mail*.<sup>26</sup> These papers, which were founded upon a new populist and commercial style of writing and print layout, embraced the new half-tone process for reproducing photographs. By 1897 wood engraving was rarely used as a reproductive process in the press, and even *The Graphic*, regarded as the last bastion of old methods, had gone over to the process of the half-tone photograph.<sup>27</sup>

The *IPN* continued to print its wood engravings, possibly for a number of reasons. There were likely to have been practical considerations for the continuation of the same illustration techniques. A change in illustration practices would have been costly and labour intensive. New machinery would have been required, in addition to alterations to

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<sup>24</sup> Robert J. Kirkpatrick, *From the Penny Dreadful to the Ha'Penny Dreadful: A Bibliographic History of the Boys' Periodical in Britain, 1762-1950* (London: British Library Press, 2013), p.13.

<sup>25</sup> Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 162-3.

<sup>26</sup> Ulrich Keller, 'Photojournalism around 1900: The Institutionalization of a Mass Medium', in *Shadow and Substance*, ed. Kathleen Collins (1990), pp. 284-5.

<sup>27</sup> Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 183.

the newspaper's structure and layout. The half-tone photograph required various stages of retouching and re-engraving, which would have also taken more time. Whilst sport became an increasing focus of the newspaper, this increased attention was not entirely replicated in the newspaper's illustrations. This perhaps owed to a number of factors: first, that the sport coverage in the *IPN* was closely linked with gambling. Sports coverage was largely confined to form and betting tips. Moreover, wood engravings of sporting events were unlikely to be able to compete with photographic reproductions of the same events. The content of the *IPN*'s illustrations both determined and was determined by the production techniques employed. Newsworthy occurrences, particularly the sensational events favoured by the *IPN*, were unpredictable, and the availability of photographs of these incidents even less predictable. Moreover, whilst the half-tone photograph could present the reader with the authentic sense of 'having been there', hand-drawn illustrations could continue to provide the same narratives of crime, which the photograph lacked. Unlike photographs, the graphic images used in the *IPN* could be drawn in such a way as to convey the different characters and physiognomy of both victims and criminals, in addition to capturing the action of the scene.

The *IPN*'s visual depiction of the First World War offered many parallels to these crime illustrations. The *IPN*'s methods for producing visual images meant that they could carry 'pictures of battles' imagining them in an early nineteenth-century style of formations in ranks. Whilst newspaper photographs showed a nearly empty battlefield, the *IPN* style meant that regiments could be named in the pictures, allowing a national audience the chance to identify with the picture. This possibility of identification and deeper interaction between the reader and these images, once again turned the reader into a spectator or voyeur. Gerry Beegan noted that newspapers and magazines used photographs and

illustrations differently during the First World War. Photography was used to record objects, portraits and places, whilst illustrations captured the action of battle.<sup>28</sup>

The continuation of the same illustration production techniques in the *IPN* and their continued popularity during a period of noticeable change for other periodicals, raises questions about the periodisation of changes in the press. The illustrative techniques of the *IPN* were more closely aligned to older forms of print culture, most noticeably broadside tradition, and did not immediately change in the late nineteenth century, nor with the introduction of the photograph to newspapers in 1904. Whilst the decline of the *IPN* was almost certainly connected with the rise of the photograph and changing working-class entertainments, the existence, popularity, and content of the illustrations in the *IPN* suggest that the appetite for woodcut illustrations depicting violent crime and bodily punishments continued for a longer period than has previously been acknowledged. This is possibly because the *IPN* was able to fill the gap in the market created by the decline of these older print forms, offering some continuity in the woodcut techniques and subjects illustrated, whilst repackaging their layout and positioning.

## Layout

As was outlined in chapter one, as with all popular newspapers of the period, the dimensions of the *IPN* changed over the period of study. Whilst the size of pages and the number of columns declined, the number of pages increased. Until 1894 the newspaper remained four pages in length, before increasing to eight pages in December 1894, increasing again to twelve pages in July 1897 and then sixteen pages in January 1903. It was reduced back down to 12 pages in April 1916, and down again to eight pages in March 1918, remaining eight pages in length until it ceased publication in 1938. This increase in

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<sup>28</sup> Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 207.



page numbers unsurprisingly led to an increased number of illustrations and the introduction of illustrations throughout the newspaper instead of solely on the front page (from 1892 illustrations had begun to feature on the third page, although these were often simply small portraits of those involved in some of the crimes reported on that page). Not only was there an increase in the number of illustrations, but illustrations also took up a slightly greater proportion of the newspaper as a whole. The proportion of the newspaper devoted to illustration increased in 1897 from one quarter of the newspaper's content to just over a third, the level it remained at until its change to *The Sporting Record* in 1938. This increased illustration and changing format of the newspaper demonstrates that the *IPN* was subject to many of the same changes that were affecting the late nineteenth-century press, which have traditionally been associated with *New Journalism*.<sup>29</sup>

This change in newspaper structure appears to have exerted very little obvious influence upon the overall proportion coverage of different types of illustrations as a whole. However, it did make the differing purposes and uses of illustrations within the newspaper more marked. It seems likely, given the above evidence from the parliamentary report and the content of these illustrations, that the full-page illustrations were intended to be collected, and placed upon walls, whilst the illustrations surrounded by letter-press were used to simply entertain, or add further colour to reporting. When the newspaper increased in size up to 12 and 16 pages respectively, a centre-spread was introduced, which could have also provided readers with the opportunity to pin these images on walls. These centre double pages usually contained one large picture, which presented the reader with the most spectacular and dramatic scenes imaginable. Table 3.1 shows the years in which a centre-spread was used in the *IPN* (between 1900 and 1918), and the types of illustration printed on these double pages. It shows that the pictures printed on these double pages were some of the most sensational and dramatic illustrations included in the newspaper. They were

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<sup>29</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the changes associated with New Journalism, see the introduction.

largely confined to violent crimes (notably murder) and tragic accidents and disasters, with very little coverage of non-violent crime, suicide, miscellaneous pictures and sport. The only time that sport featured on the centre pages was when the newspaper illustrated scenes from ‘The Great Boat Race’ between Cambridge and Harvard, complete with depictions of large crowds.<sup>30</sup> Between 1915 and 1918 100 per cent of these centre-spreads illustrated the First World War, showing the importance of war in shaping the content of the *IPN*. These centre pages disappeared in March 1918, when the newspaper reduced in size. The reduction in the size of the newspaper and removal of the double spread suggests that by 1918 this was no longer financially viable. This removal during the later stages of the war is also interesting, as war weariness might have meant that readers were no longer interested in collecting battle scenes depicting the heroics of specific regiments.

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<sup>30</sup> *The IPN*, 15 September 1906, pp 8-9.

**Table 3.1: Categories of illustrations occupying the centre two pages of the IPN, 1900-1918 (%)**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Violent Crime</i>	<i>Non-violent crime</i>	<i>Accidents/natural disasters</i>	<i>Suicide/mysterious death</i>	<i>Serial story illustration</i>	<i>Misc</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>War</i>
March 1900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
September 1900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
March 1903	50	0	25	0	0	25	0	0
September 1903	50	0	25	0	0	25	0	0
March 1906	40	20	20	0	0	0	0	20
September 1906	40	0	40	0	0	0	20	0
March 1909	75	0	12.5	12.5	0	0	0	0
September 1909	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
March 1912	40	0	40	0	0	20	0	0
September 1912	25	0	50	25	0	0	0	0
March 1915	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
September 1915	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
March 1918	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100

## Content

So far the chapter has demonstrated that there were important continuities in the production and consumption of illustrations in the *IPN*, although there were some changes in the layout from the 1890s and into the twentieth century. The remainder of the chapter will undertake a quantitative analysis in order to ascertain the subjects most likely to be illustrated, the function of illustrations in the *IPN*, and whether there were any important changes or continuities throughout the newspaper's publishing life. In order to do this, the chapter will examine the *IPN* at three-year intervals, every March and September, spanning a period of 69 years from 1867 to 1936. This larger sample provides the opportunity to trace any changes in the newspaper's use of illustration, particularly during the early twentieth century when illustration practices in the newspaper industry in general underwent considerable change. There were also a limited number of illustrations – with some of the earlier editions containing only a handful of illustrations - meaning that there

was more opportunity for anomalies, which the larger sample size hoped to mitigate. The 9 different categories of illustrations adopted for this analysis were:

- **Violent crime**

This included interpersonal violence, such as homicide, manslaughter, assault, aggravated larceny, threatening behaviour and threats of an intention to commit violence (without the occurrence of violence). Violence against property, including wilful damage and animal cruelty were also included in this section.

- **Non-violent crime**

These non-violent crimes were primarily property crimes, including forgery, theft, and simple larceny. It also included misdemeanours perpetrated without actual or threatened violence, such as escapes from prison or the chase and capture of escaped convicts, where there was no violence.

- **Accidents and natural disasters**

These were usually large-scale spectacular disasters, such as: fires, floods, colliery disasters, boiler explosions, train crashes, shipwrecks and accidents at sea, but could also include smaller accidents, such as fatalities caused by collapsing walls, falls from cliffs, cart accidents, and at a later date, omnibus and motor car accidents.

- **Suicide and mysterious deaths**

Whilst classified as ‘homicide’, this chapter considers suicide separately, unless it was combined with an incident of personal violence, and the discovery of bodies in unexplained circumstances.

- **Miscellaneous**

This included illustrations of unusual or interesting scenes, supernatural events, or political and social comment. This category was dominated by illustrations of animals – both as the perpetrators of violent attacks, or as daring, ‘sagacious’, and resourceful.

- **Serial Story illustrations**

These were not illustrations of current news, but were small illustrations accompanying serial stories or serial histories of crime.

- **Sport**

These illustrations included the depiction of professional boxing, but also more customary style prize-fighting, with occasional illustrations of rowing, football, walking, running, ice-skating, rugby, cockfighting.

- **Scandal**

Elopement and divorce cases where violent or non-violent crime was not involved.

- **War**

Illustrations of any subject pertaining to war, such as battle and victory scenes from the front line, and also the impact of the war upon the home-front (as long as this did not depict crime, or suicide).

The category of violent crime is largely limited to interpersonal violence (murder, manslaughter, assault, robbery from the person by force), and a small number of illustrations of cruelty towards animals. Yet, many of illustrations from other categories, most notably war, but also, for instance, the capture of a burglar (categorised as a non-

violent crime), the illustration of boxing matches (sport), or illustrations of animal attacks (miscellaneous) could often contain just as much violence, if not more so, in their woodcuts. In instances where a number of offences were depicted in the illustrations, the most serious of the crimes was catalogued. Similarly, many of the depictions of murder also involved the suicide of the alleged offender. In these instances the subject was categorised as ‘violent crime’, as it is the violent crime that is of interest to the illustrator, with the suicide often treated as a side-event or further evidence of the ‘tragedy’, or a concluding event in these visual narratives

The statistical analysis will be followed by a qualitative study of the narratives presented to readers in these illustrations, focusing in particular on the narratives surrounding crime, the criminal justice process, and the punishment of alleged offenders. This will explore the differing narratives featured within these illustrations, not only looking at the narratives surrounding the depiction of specific incidents, but also looking at the long-running narratives that unfolded around the illustrated reporting of notorious murders, spread across a number of weeks in the nineteenth century. This analysis will show that despite their differing content, the majority of the illustrations possessed a shared narrative, communicating with readers in a style they understood. This qualitative examination of the content and style of the illustrations will also offer an analysis of accompanying headlines and selected news reports within the newspaper, to unpack the impression of crime and justice which readers were given.

### **Overall trends**

Tables 3.2 (at end of chapter) and table 3.3 both outline the proportion of the newspaper given to specific categories of illustration. Table 3.2 shows the total number of pages of illustrations printed in the newspaper and the number of pages and proportion of coverage the specific categories of illustration received. As described above, March and September

newspapers were sampled at three-year intervals. The number of illustrations counted is also provided in brackets, to give a sense of the size of the sample. However, the variation in size of these illustrations, which could occupy as much as a page or as little as 0.05 of a page, means that counting the number of pages of illustrations is more effective than counting the number of illustrations themselves. An illustration occupying a whole page of the newspaper would be more likely to attract reader attention than a much smaller image.

Table 3.3 has combined datasets to provide decade trends, thus removing anomalies, unless it is something that dominated over a substantial period of time. The main trend to note, which will be explored in more detail throughout the chapter, is that crime was by far the most significant component of illustration in the newspaper. With both categories of violent and non-violent crime combined, the proportion of illustrations pertaining to crime was over 50 per cent for the period of study. The majority of crimes illustrated were violent. With the exception of the decades containing major wars the illustration of violent crime never fell below 42.55 per cent of all illustrations, and the illustration of violent crime increased throughout the period of study, with the last decade of the newspaper containing the highest proportion of violent crime illustrations.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, this chapter will focus upon the illustrated representations of crime, the restoration of justice (through both the police and the courts), and graphic depictions of punishment throughout the period.

After violent crime the next most consistently illustrated subject were accidents and natural disasters, which achieved a high of 23.87 per cent of illustrations (1860s), and hovered around 17 per cent of all illustrations (1870s: 17.13; 1890s: 16.69; 1900s: 16.22; 1920s:

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<sup>31</sup>Wars illustrated in the *IPN* were: 1870, Franco-Prussian War, 1900 Boer War, 1906 Natal South Africa, 1915-1918 First World War,

17.98; table 3.3). The disruptive effect of war upon the illustrations is shown in the decline in the proportion of violent crime illustrations in the 1900s and 1910s, and the large rise in the illustrations of war. There was also a significant increase in the number of suicides and mysterious deaths in the post-war decade (1920s), which may have been a result of the impact of war.

**Table 3.3: Proportion of content of illustrations (%): decade sets**

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Violent Crime</i>	<i>Non-violent crime</i>	<i>Accidents/natural disasters</i>	<i>Suicide/mysterious death</i>	<i>Serial story illustration</i>	<i>Misc</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Scandal</i>	<i>War</i>
1860s	49.62	4.55	23.87	3.79	0.00	17.43	0.00	0.00	0.00
1870s	46.32	4.07	17.13	4.24	0.00	19.69	0.83	4.60	3.13
1880s	42.55	20.08	11.68	2.14	0.00	12.15	9.32	2.07	0.00
1890s	43.66	10.33	16.69	7.96	0.00	15.48	3.50	2.34	0.00
1900s	39.03	5.29	16.22	5.45	1.90	5.22	2.81	0.00	23.85
1910s	22.95	1.75	10.86	7.75	1.63	5.68	0.00	0.00	49.38
1920s	54.32	3.90	17.98	11.13	0.00	7.84	1.25	0.70	1.81
1930s	56.09	2.65	14.63	8.42	4.46	11.82	2.08	0.00	0.00

### **Crime: Violent Crime**

The majority of crime illustrations depicted violent crime. Up to 56 per cent (1930s; table 3.3) of the newspaper's illustration content was devoted to violent crime, and the proportion of illustrations depicting violent crime increased throughout the period, highlighting the centrality of subject and the calculation of newsworthiness and continued commercial viability. The readership of the newspaper was aware of and interested in violent crime, and violent crime was considered far more worthy of illustration than non-violent crime. The same crimes were detailed in the respectable dailies and weeklies, but what differentiated the *IPN* was the higher concentration of these violent crimes, particularly in the illustrated form.



As shown in table 3.2 only war occurring in 1900, 1915 and 1918, and ‘miscellaneous’ illustrations in 1876 caused the proportional amount of violent crime illustrations to drop. The unusually high proportion of violent crime illustrations in 1879 and 1882 was the result of intense coverage of a couple of notorious crimes, with the serial reporting extending over several weeks (table 3.2). In March 1879, nearly the entire month’s woodcuts were devoted to the illustration of events surrounding the execution of Charles Peace, and in 1882 there was widespread coverage of ‘The Wimbledon Poisoning Case’ and an attempt to assassinate the Queen. The existence and popularity of such violent illustrations perhaps runs counter to arguments of a society moving away from forms of violent entertainment. Instead, the *IPN* demonstrates the complexities of print culture, and further complicates our understanding of the ‘civilising process’. Discussions concerning representations violent crime and depictions of human tragedy should not be framed in the terms of decline or rise, and it is not as simple as saying representation of violent crime declined, thus proving the civilising/taming process. Illustration within the *IPN* provides further proof of the newspaper’s use of cultural adaption – illustrations may have changed, adopting some new minor printing techniques, or illustrated their subjects in slightly different ways, but at its core, the message was still the same and meanings given to illustrations remained the same.

### **Non-violent crime**

Table 3.3, which shows the proportion of subjects illustrated organised by decade, shows that non-violent crime comprised a small proportion of the overall total number of illustrations. The unusually high proportion of non-violent crime illustrations during the 1880s (20 per cent of all illustrations during the 1880s), owed to the serial reporting of a crime that captured the attention of the nation in 1885: the trial of those involved in a ‘child abduction case’ in September 1885, known more widely as the ‘Maiden Tribute’ scandal. This was a major scandal, which allegedly involved the abduction and sale of a

child for prostitution. W. T. Stead, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, exposed these sexual scandals, using new typographical and journalistic techniques to tell the familiar story of the seduction of poor young girls by vicious aristocrats. Interest in the case was widespread, and cross class, with middle-class and working class readers interested in this sexual scandal.<sup>32</sup> After this highpoint, the proportion of illustrations depicting non-violent crime declined during the early twentieth century. These non-violent crimes tended to only be illustrated if they were particularly remarkable, or if there was a particularly exciting chase or capture of the burglar.

### **Narratives of Crime, Justice and Punishment**

The overwhelming majority of illustrations depicted violent crime. These illustrations usually depicted the moment of crime or the discovery of the body. The illustration of the moment of murder and violent assault followed a set pattern: the accused would be in a position of dominance of strength, standing over his victim, with a raised arm holding a weapon pointed threateningly at his target (figure 3.1). Contemporary readers even recognised this pattern, and Edwin Muir recalled seeing, on the cover of an edition of the *IPN* a ‘picture of a powerful man standing in his shirt sleeves with an axe raised above his head.’<sup>33</sup>

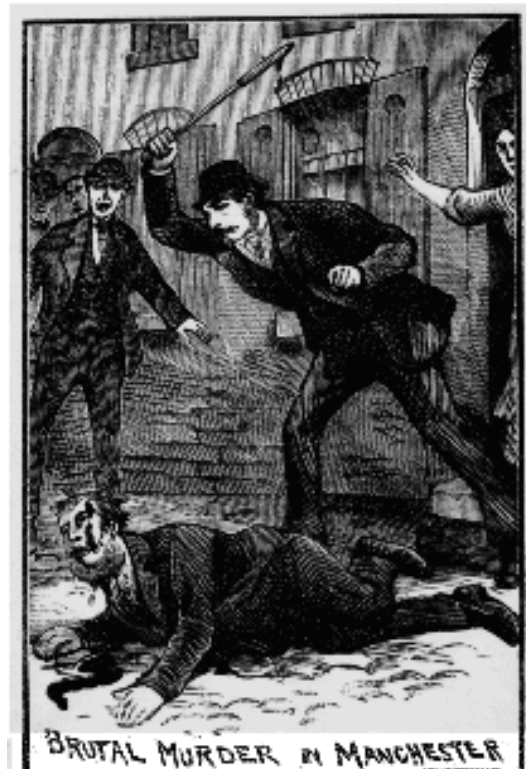
The victim, usually on his or her knees, would be begging for mercy, slumped unconscious, or gasping with a mixture of fear and pain. If there were onlookers or actors, they would be seeking to protect the victim, holding them up, or running into scene. These third party actors rarely challenged the murderer, further emphasising the murderer’s dominance or strength and the inevitability of the murder. The expressed horror of these

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<sup>32</sup> Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of sexual danger in late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); W. Sydney Robinson, *Muckraker: The Scandalous Life and Times of W. T. Stead, Britain's First Investigative Journalist* (London: The Robson Press, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> Edwin Muir, *The story and the fable: An autobiography* (London, 1940), p. 84-85

onlookers also invites the reader to join them in expressing a collective horror, reinforcing the societal condemnation of violent crime. This supports Lee Perry Curtis's study of the Jack the Ripper reporting, which showed that crime news was as a 'social and cultural construct' and reporters were able to both influence and be influenced by the standards of approved behaviour.<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 3.1: Front-cover illustration of murder, *IPN*, September 9, 1882.<sup>35</sup>**

Dramatic illustrations of the moment of crime were strongly influenced by other forms of nineteenth-century entertainment, most notably melodrama and the theatrical conventions of the period. Melodrama was the defining theatrical mode of the nineteenth century, with Elaine Hadley observing that 'stage melodrama and its distinctive style of presentation had become so common in most London theatres that plays of a melodramatic cast no longer

<sup>34</sup>L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Jack the Ripper & the London Press* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>The image of the attacker standing over the victim, hands raised, was the most common image on the front cover of the newspaper. A selection of these images include: 2 March 1867, 7 September 1872, 28 September 1872, 3 March 1877, 31 March 1877, 2 September 1882, 30 September 1882, 12 March 1887.

identified themselves as such; in most respects melodrama was drama'.<sup>36</sup> Victorian stage melodrama has typically been described as featuring six stock characters; the hero, the villain, the heroine, an aged parent, a sidekick, and a servant of the aged parent; engaged in a sensational plot featuring themes of love and murder.<sup>37</sup> Whilst lacking the overt critiques of class conflict that many historians have found in melodrama, the narratives of crime in these illustrations echoed many of the tropes of melodrama.<sup>38</sup> In particular, the protagonists were set in clear roles – usually the 'good' hero or heroine (who was often the innocent victim), and the 'bad' villain – and the drama in these scenes often contained a battle between forces of good and evil. Like the melodramatic villain, criminals depicted in the *IPN* tended to be shown to pose a threat to the hero or heroine's safety. As well as these clearly defined roles, melodrama often privileged gesture and other non-verbal signifiers over spoken language, making explosive use of the performing body.<sup>39</sup> Actors could use their entire bodies to convey emotions, and movement was overdrawn and extravagant.<sup>40</sup> These theatrical gestures can be found in the positioning and gestures of the main characters in the wood-engravings of the *IPN*. Like the early engravers, who adopted standard poses such as 'outstretched hands' which pointed to the power of destiny', and 'the falling curve of the heroine's body' which 'illustrated her helpless innocence', the *IPN*'s illustrations were simply a collection of stereotyped characters and hyperbole in theatrical poses.<sup>41</sup> Rarely static, the woodcuts were full of movement, and the people illustrated were recognisable villains and heroes; actors adopting theatrical poses, and often witnessed by large crowds. A number of devices were frequently used, such as an onlooker, running into the scene yet unable to help, further reinforcing the inevitability of

<sup>36</sup> Elaine Hadley, *Melodramatic Tactics: Theatricalized Dissent in the English Marketplace, 1800-1885* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Carolyn Williams, 'Melodrama', in *The New Cambridge History of English Literature: The Victorian Period*, ed. Kate Flint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.84.

<sup>38</sup> For an account of how melodrama became a customary and familiar form of storytelling in radical politics, see: Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of sexual danger in late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 87.

<sup>39</sup> Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 54.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Booth, *English Melodrama* (London: H. Jenkins, 1965), p. 206, pp. 190-4.

<sup>41</sup> G.A.Sala, *The Life and adventures of George Augustus Sala*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (2 vols., London 1895), p. 209.

the event. Such representations provided readers with the sense of ‘having been there’, and witnessing at first hand the scenes that came to life on the newspaper’s pages. Mirroring the typical ending of such melodramas, the narratives surrounding the most sensational or serious crimes usually concluded with the trouncing of the villain, and the removal of any danger. Consequently, the end of the drama would see a return to relative peace or stability.

Illustrations concerning the most represented of violent crimes, murder, often followed a set style. George Purkess emphasised this formulaic narrative in his interview with the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1886. He recognised that the artist ‘endeavours to get a view of the scene of the tragedy, outrage, suicide, or accident’ and the newspaper ‘always give[s] a picture of the house in which the inquest is held; but naturally, in sketches of this kind, from the very character of the incident, the imagination must be given some freedom’.<sup>42</sup> In addition to these action crime scenes, there were also dramatic depictions of the discovery of bodies, and portrait illustrations of the victim and the accused, in addition to supplementary portrait illustrations and pictures of key locations in the crime. Moreover, the style adopted in these illustrations was very similar to that employed in the early nineteenth-century broadsides. Blood was a central element of such illustrations, gushing from open wounds, staining furniture and collecting in pools upon the floor. Tension and drama hung in the air, and maximum visual impact was the aim. The ‘action’ scene was preferred throughout the publishing history of the *IPN*. However, from 1892 many of these illustrations of serious crime were potentially used to titillate readers. Ladies were scantily clad, and there was the discovery of naked female bodies, draped over beds and out of bathtubs. Moreover, there was particular interest if the crimes had been committed in the dance hall, or if the woman was an actress or ‘beautiful dancer’.

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<sup>42</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886.

This formulaic narrative could be contained within a single series of illustrations in one newspaper, although in the instance of some of the more serious cases of murder, these illustrations could form part of a much larger narrative. Spread over a number of weeks, these illustrations formed a narrative that extended beyond the coverage of a specific event in the drama. There were also illustrations of the trial and its verdict, the prisoner in his or her prison cell, their last confession and the last moments of their life. These serial narratives would conclude with the ‘gallows’ execution scenes described above. Such serial illustrations provided readers with a week-by-week update of the latest developments in the court, although these had serial updates had largely disappeared by the twentieth century.

The rest of this section will focus upon the pictorial narrative that unfolded from one specific crime, and how this crime, in addition to the trial, and the punishment of the accused, was represented. It will examine the pictorial representation of the murder of Mrs Thomas by her maid Kate Webster in 1879, in what the newspaper referred to as the ‘Richmond Murder’. In a period of almost five months between the discovery of the murder and the execution of Webster, the newspaper published a series of pictures illustrating the unfolding of events. These illustrations included portrait illustrations of the accused, the victim, and other key characters in the drama. The most striking aspect of the illustration of this case was the newspaper’s use of portraits. The *IPN* was not unique in printing portraits; this was a device employed by a number of nineteenth-century newspapers in order to suggest the credibility of their reporting. These portraits, allegedly ‘reproduced from photographs’, a fact which was frequently highlighted in the illustration captions, were, according to the *IPN*, ‘an excellent likeness’ of the characters involved in this murder mystery. As figure 3.2 demonstrates, these illustrations were very telling; without reading the captions it is clear that the central illustration is of Webster. Her penetrating stare, combined with the dark shading around her eyes and her menacing snarl

all contribute to the presentation of her character as a stock melodramatic villain. Conversely, the other two portraits are less intimidating; neither the victim, Mrs Thomas (figure 3.3), nor Mr Church (the man Webster accused of committing the murder, figure 3.4) are staring directly at the reader. Their illustrations are less like a mug-shot, and more like a family portrait, with the round (rather than Webster's angular) border surrounding them. This surrounding background is also shaded more darkly than their portraits, enhancing their softness, while Webster's face is shaded darker, a device that further reinforces her harshness. The illustrations of Webster in the prison also drew upon public perceptions of the female criminal. There were a number of other women illustrated in the background, all of whom were similarly dressed in rag clothing with dirty faces, further emphasising the link between poverty and female deviancy. The women's clothing and harsh features were used to show that these female prisoners had contravened the ideals of femininity. This reflected and reinforced the mid-nineteenth-century approach to female criminality, which viewed women's crimes as not only breaking the criminal law, but also viewed as acts of deviance from the 'norm' of femininity.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford: OUP, 1991); Lucia Zedner, 'Women, Crime, and Penal Responses: A Historical Account', *Crime and Justice* 14 (1991), pp 307-362, p. 310.



Figure 3.2: *The IPN*, 3 May 1879, p. 1

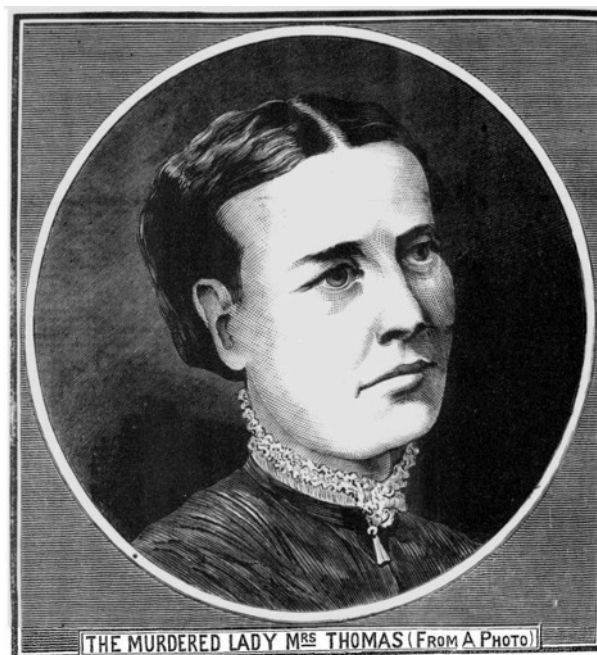
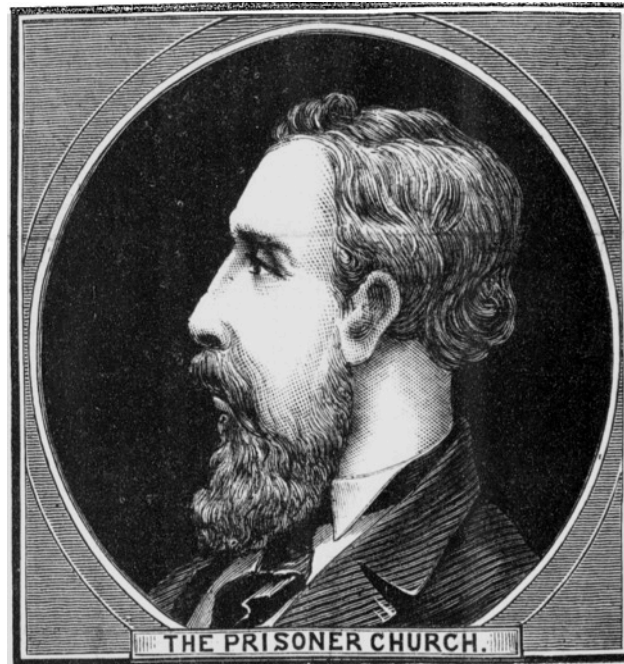


Figure 3.3: *The IPN*, 12 April 1879, p. 1





**Figure 3.4: *The IPN*, 19 April 1879, p. 1**

Seth Koven, when discussing Barnado's representations of the ragged child in the late nineteenth century, claimed that the philanthropist's graphic images were more successful in exploiting visual iconography than photographs. Graphic images, unlike photographs, could mobilise the visual language of Victorian physiognomy, which equated the facial features of the poor with those of the primitive races.<sup>44</sup> The importance of *visual classification* and the desire to *read* appearance was, according to Gerry Beegan, a central concern in the Victorian urban experience, which was reflected in the press and its images.<sup>45</sup> The *Illustrated London News* justified its own foray into criminal illustration during the Daniel Good case in 1842 by claiming that:

Many of our readers may be disciples of Lavater [the physiognomist] and to them we shall, for once, in such a case afford an opportunity of exercising their judgement upon this man.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 119.

<sup>45</sup> Gerry Beegan, "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimile, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving," *Journal of Design History* 8.4 (1995), p.257.

<sup>46</sup> "Execution of Daniel Good," *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1842, p. 32.

Such a rationalisation of how people may have chosen to ‘read’ crime illustrations should not be dismissed as a feeble excuse used by the *ILN* to retain its respectability. There is evidence to suggest that readers of the *IPN* relished the opportunity to act as physiognomists and crime investigators.

As was typical in the pictorial depictions of crime, the illustrations of Mrs Thomas’s murder also included a representation of the place where the body was found, in addition to several illustrations of specific locations in the drama. These included a number of woodcuts of the bridges, a couple of pubs (including the Rising Sun and the Hammersmith Beer Shop – figure 3.5) and the local Petty Sessions, the police court where the initial court hearing was held. This focus upon place also found its way into the illustration captions. These illustrations and captions had several functions. Firstly, they acted in much the same way as the portraits, adding extra credibility to the reporting and suggesting the newspaper was factually correct. Secondly, the illustration of place allowed the reader to act as a spectator of events, visualising every aspect of the crime, from its discovery to its aftermath. Thirdly, and particularly relevant in the case of Kate Webster, it seems that such illustrations of locations were used to maintain interest in long and drawn-out murder trials, which featured few new exciting illustrations which could be featured in the newspaper on a weekly basis. Fourthly, they demonstrate that the specific locations and spaces in which crimes took place were central to the newspaper’s construction of crime. Moreover, readers were interested in the locations in which crimes took place. These illustrations could act as a kind of souvenir guide or map to one’s own local area. The importance of location and space will be explored in more detail in chapter 6.

# THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS

LAW COURTS AND WEEKLY RECORD

No. 505.

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1879.

PRICE ONE PENNY

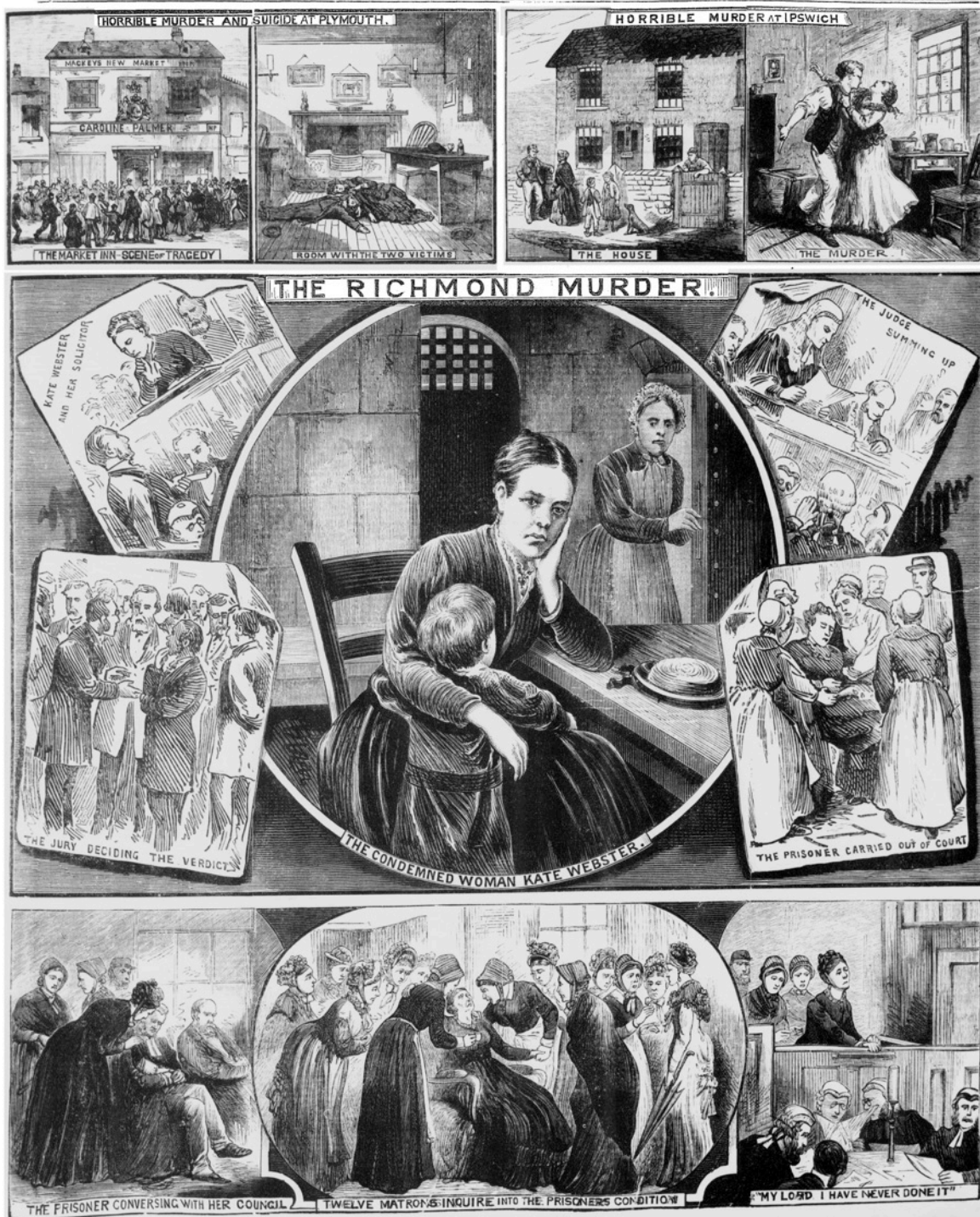


Figure 3.5: *The IPN*, 19 July 1879, p. 1.

The climax of these serial illustrations was the execution of Kate Webster. The illustration of this event dominated the whole front page of the newspaper. The front-page illustrations of the execution scene encouraged readers to act as ‘spectators’ of the execution (figure 3.6). Printed over a decade after the abolition of public execution, this front-page depiction of execution suggests that an interest in the spectacle of execution continued, and the newspaper’s proprietor saw this as a subject capable of selling newspapers. Also featured on the execution page were a number of smaller illustrations, including a reprint of the portrait of Webster. The scenes depicted on the front page of the newspaper encouraged readers to act as spectators to an event that now took place behind closed doors. The hoisting of the black flag and the crowds surrounding the prison are also depicted, once again allowing the reader to feel like they are also viewing the events first-hand. The depiction of these crowds also allowed readers to feel that they were not alone in their interest in this case, in turn normalising interest in executions. More chillingly, there is also a depiction of the two men filling up the coffin of Kate Webster with lime. This emphasis upon retribution supports Beth Kalikoff and Rosalind Crone’s notion of ‘cathartic pleasure’. While the graphic representations of Webster’s crime had been repetitive, they had nevertheless built layer upon layer of tension and expectation in audiences, which meant that the brutal punishment of Webster at the conclusion generated a cathartic pleasure. The more dramatic the violence, the greater the tension, and the more pleasurable the sense of relief and emotional release felt by the audience on punishment of the offender.<sup>47</sup>

There are striking similarities between the depiction of Kate Webster’s execution in the *IPN* and in the few remaining broadsides printed. Although more detailed than the broadside woodcut (figure 3.7), the woodcut illustrations featured in the *Illustrated Police*

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<sup>47</sup> Beth Kalikoff, *Murder and Moral Decay in Victorian Popular Literature* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), p.28.

*News* were nevertheless highly stylised. Execution scenes were almost identical, showing the criminals with a noose around their necks, receiving their last prayer, and surrounded by prison guards. Also included were portraits of the criminal as well as a picture of Marwood (the hangman). These large front-page illustrations suggest that the *Illustrated Police News*, like the earlier broadsides, could be bought as a memento of these famous executions. They possessed the same 'totemic' value as their broadside ancestors; woodcut illustrations were at the centre of the *Illustrated Police News*, making iconic meanings explicit.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree : Execution and the English People, 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). P. 175.





Figure 3.6: *The IPN*, 2 August 1879, p. 1.



Figure 3.7: Trial, sentence & execution of Kate Webster for the murder of Mrs. Thomas, at Richmond, 29 July 1879.<sup>49</sup>

As has been established, crime reports are a social construction, and reports of crime do not correlate with actual instances of crime.<sup>50</sup> Illustrations of violent crime within the *IPN*

<sup>49</sup> Trial, sentence & execution of Kate Webster for the murder of Mrs. Thomas, at Richmond, 29 July 1879, in in *The John Johnson Collection: An Archive of Printed Ephemera*, <http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/search/displayItemImage.do?FormatType=fulltext&mgsrsrc&PageNumber=1&ItemNumber=2&ItemID=20090629104756kg&shelfNumber=1&ResultsID=13DC5C890AD10ED984> [accessed 01 May 2013].

continued to dominate, and indeed increase, despite evidence pointing to the general decline in interpersonal violence.<sup>51</sup> But it is important to attempt to assess the *impact* that these illustrations had upon reader perceptions of violent crime, and whether the action-filled woodcuts played any role in fermenting or allaying reader's fears of violence and crime. The supposed debasing effect of the *IPN* and its illustrations upon its readers (in particular its lower-class readers) was well chronicled by many of the newspaper's detractors in its early years. This criticism, which stated that the exposure to illustrations of extreme crime had a negative impact upon the newspaper's reader, was fairly typical:

There is 'nothing'...more harmful in tendency than the weekly broadside of crime [*IPN*] which is spread out over our land...wherein John and Jane, who can only sign their names with a cross, read in hideous cartoons, suggestions of cruelty and crime more revolting than any schoolmaster could have taught them.<sup>52</sup>

But what impact, if any, did the *IPN* have upon readers' perceptions of crime? John Archer and Joanne Jones have suggested that representations of crime within newspapers highlighted certain crimes and behaviours as deviant and unacceptable, arousing in readers 'interest, fear and concern in equal measure', and thus creating a moral outrage and defining criminality for their readers.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the power of newspaper reporting to create and sustain moral panics has been highlighted by social theorists such as Stanley

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<sup>50</sup> Steve Chibnall, *Law and Order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press*, (London: Tavistock Press, 1977), p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> V.A.C Gatrell and T. B. Hadden, 'Criminal Statistics and their Interpretation', *Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods and the Study of Social Data*, ed. E.A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 377.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Blackburn, *Normandy Picturesque* (London: Sampson Low Son, and Marston, 1869), pp. 222-223.

<sup>53</sup> John Archer and Jo Jones, 'Headlines from History: Violence in the Press 1850-1914', *The Meanings of Violence*, ed. Elizabeth Stanko, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 17.



Cohen, and supported by some historians, such as Jennifer Davis in her study of the 'garrotting panic' during the early 1860s.<sup>54</sup>

### **Restoration of justice: Police**

Whilst the title of the newspaper - *The Illustrated Police News* - might suggest that the police either printed the newspaper or occupied a central role in the newspaper's content, it was the criminal act, rather than the work of the police that received the most attention. However, the work of police officers and police detectives could occasionally be subject to illustration, although there was often little distinction made between constables or detectives in the early illustrations found within the *IPN*. Haia Spayer-Makov has asserted that pictorial magazines devoted to sensational news stories further buttressed the prestige of police detectives.<sup>55</sup> Depicting crimes based on recent events, the pictures staged them as dramatic chases and confrontations between a vigorous and eager detective and his opponent – the criminal – often in situations of risk of injury or even death for the police constable.<sup>56</sup> Spayer-Makov contends that such popular magazines were read by a public that generally avoided the more serious, critical press, meaning that some sectors of the population were exposed almost exclusively to a heroic portrayal of detectives. The *IPN* printed a number of illustrations that support Spayer-Makov's conclusions, showing the smart and 'brave' work of constables capturing burglars or escaped convicts, restraining mad dogs and violent offenders.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Jennifer Davis, 'The London Garrotting Panic of 1862: a moral panic and creation of a criminal class in mid-Victorian England', in V.A.C Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker (eds), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa, 1980).

<sup>55</sup> Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'From Menace to Celebrity: The English Police Detective and the Press, c.1842-1914', *Historical Research* 83 (2010) 672-692, p. 689.

<sup>56</sup> Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'From Menace to Celebrity: The English Police Detective and the Press, c.1842-1914', *Historical Research* 83 (2010) 672-692, p. 689.

<sup>57</sup> *The IPN*, 21 March 1885, p. 1; *The IPN*, 24 March 1888, p. 1; *The IPN*, 14 March 1885, p. 1; *The IPN*, 24 March 1894, p. 1; *The IPN*, 22 September 1894, p. .

Whilst largely depicted as ‘heroes’, police officers could be cast in other roles. For example, there were occasional representations of the police as victims and even more rarely, as perpetrators of crime themselves. There were a number of instances of police officers as victims of violent attacks, or sometimes victims of accidents.<sup>58</sup> However, these illustrations often reinforced the heroic image of the officer. As figure 3.8 demonstrates, even as the ‘victim’ of crime, the police officer could nevertheless be depicted as a heroically battling against ‘lunatics’, arms raised, gallantly aiming to protect themselves. Moreover, those attacking policemen were depicted as especially vicious, with figure 3.9 demonstrating the harsh features of the man shooting at the police officer. Police officers could also occasionally be cast as the tragic victims of accidents, as was demonstrated in figure 3.10. However, this was not the only image of the police, and they could sometimes be depicted committing wrongdoings, such as the instance when an officer was caught in a pub whilst meant to be on duty ‘given away by his shadow’.<sup>59</sup> The violence of police officers could also occasionally be highlighted, such as ‘A Leicester Constable’s Dastardly Action’, a scene depicting a police officer assaulting another officer with a knuckle-duster.<sup>60</sup> This instance did not necessarily compromise the integrity of the police force as a whole, since a police officer was the victim of the attack, but it does illustrate that readers were not simply presented with one homogeneous image of the ‘heroic’ police officer. Occasionally the image of the police constable was used to highlight the roles played by other key actors in the scene. The bravery of a lady when capturing a burglar was further highlighted by an on-looking police constable.<sup>61</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century, the work of the police constable began to be depicted differently. In addition to the staple ‘chase’ scene or

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<sup>58</sup> *The IPN*, 5 March 1870, p. 1; *The IPN*, 26 March 1870, p. 1; *The IPN*, 17 March 1894, p. 1; *The IPN*, 24 March 1894, p. 1; *The IPN*, 26 September 1903, p. 16; *The IPN*, 8 September 1906, p. 4; *The IPN*, 26 September 1906, p. 4; *The IPN*, 19 March 1933, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> *The IPN*, 29 September 1900, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> *The IPN*, 2 March 1912, p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> *The IPN*, 27 March 1897, p. 1.

confrontation between the constable and the guilty person, illustrations began to depict the police constable or detective piecing together clues and solving crimes. In March 1906 an illustration depicting the stages in the solving of a 'Hansom cab mystery', through the following of clues was plotted out numerically for readers.<sup>62</sup> In September of the same year the 'smart' work of a detective was similarly portrayed as leading to the capture of coiners.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the more scientific methods of the police officer began to be depicted, as is shown in figure 3.11, which shows woodcut illustrations of the policeman finding evidence, photographing the crime scene, and the scientific work in the mortuary.<sup>64</sup>

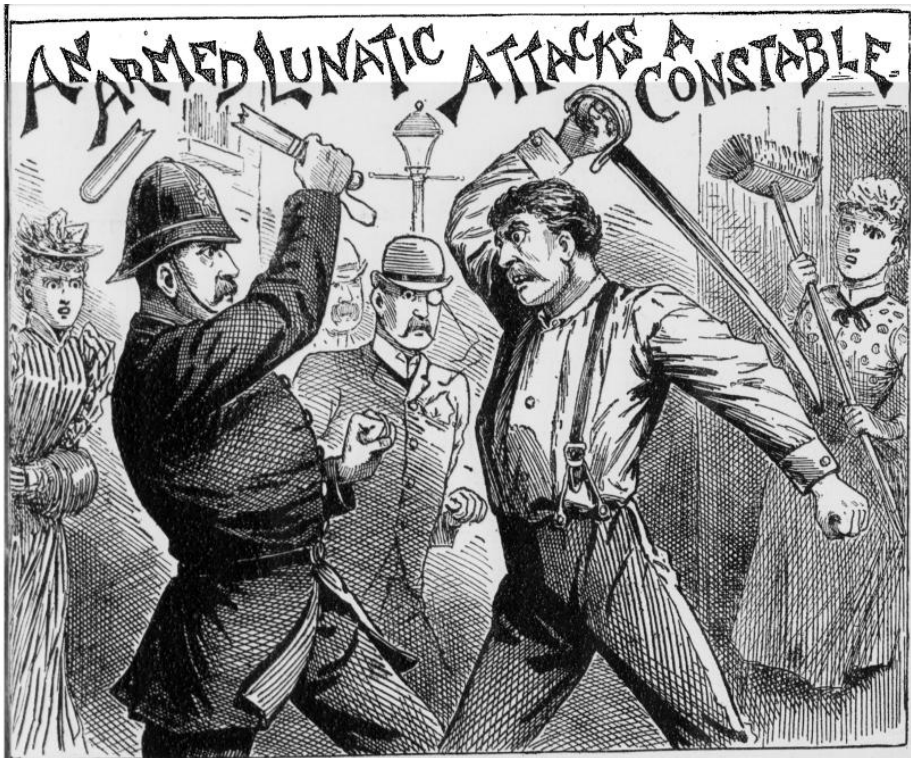
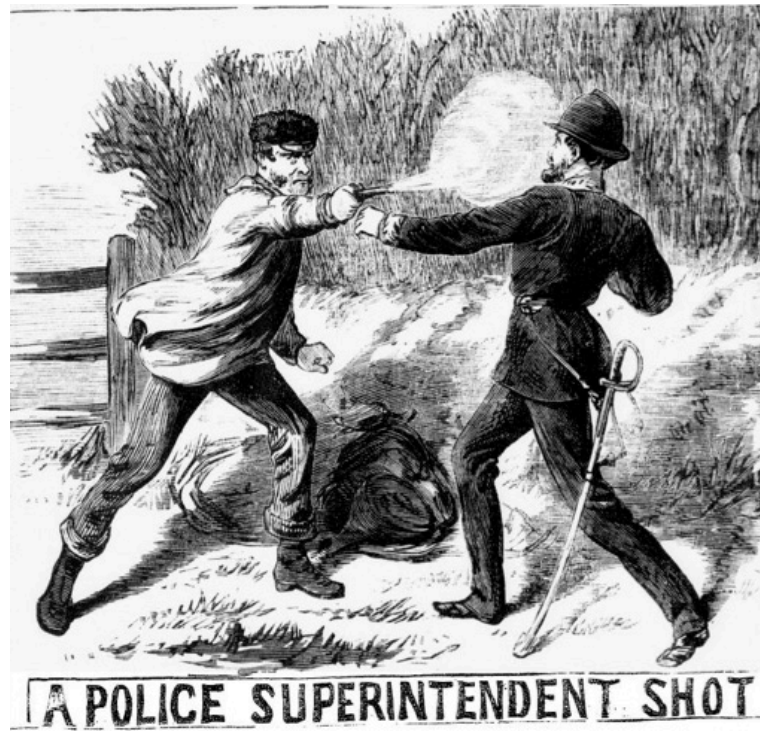


Figure 3.8: *The IPN*, 17 March 1894, p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *The IPN*, 17 March 1906, p.1.

<sup>63</sup> *The IPN*, 24 March 1906, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup> *The IPN*, 9 March 1933.



**Figure 3.9:** *The IPN*, 5 March 1870, p. 1.



Figure 3.10: 'A Policeman Run Over', *The IPN*, 24 March 1894, p. 1





THE DEAD GIRL  
DOROTHY W. BREWER



THE SHED  
WHERE THE  
GIRL IS SAID  
TO HAVE DISAPPEARED



POLICE PHOTOGRAPHING  
A DUMMY.



THE PRISONER,  
FRED MORSE.



FINDING A WRIST  
WATCH



A RUM BOTTLE WAS FOUND



FRED MORSE  
LEAVING THE  
COURT.



SCENE IN THE MORTUARY.



SIR BERNARD SPILSBURY.

DEAD GIRL IN RIVER. SPECIAL SKETCHES

Figure 3.11: *The IPN*, 9 March 1933, p. 5.

## The courtroom and trial

The courtroom was another process of the justice system which could be subject to illustration. Like most of the front-page illustrations, these courtroom illustrations were laden with drama. The theatrical spectacle of the Victorian court has been long established, and the ‘theatricality’ or the ‘performativity’ of law, as described by Rowbotham and Stevenson is evident in these illustrations.<sup>65</sup> Where not part of an extended commentary of crime, as described above, one-off coverage of court-room scenes tended to illustrate moments of transgression and drama, rather than simply illustrations of a smooth-running legal process. Tussles in the courtroom were frequently illustrated, including the ‘Magisterial Fracas’ in Norwich on 7 September 1872, and ‘The Prisoner Behaves like a Madman in Court’ 12 September 1903. These depictions had a dual purpose. Not only did they add a further air of drama and sensationalism to the proceedings, but they also offered further proof of the guilt of the accused. The prisoner was shown to be violent, their face etched with a harshness displaying their madness, whilst many of the policemen looked on helpless unable to restrain this ‘madman’. Once again, the guilt of the accused was clear, and the picture demonstrated the need for justice.

During the Victorian age, the crowd became an even more ubiquitous presence in depictions of courtroom proceedings, suggesting an insatiable appetite for information about the criminal process. Courtroom scenes into the twentieth century continued this tradition. However, the depiction of these crowds in the woodcut illustrations had a greater symbolic value than simply depicting the popularity of these courtroom proceedings. These large crowds of members of the public were merely spectators of the events, playing no active role in the distribution of the justice.<sup>66</sup> The reader was invited to observe these

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<sup>65</sup> Judith Rowbotham and Kim Stevenson, “‘For today in this arena...’: legal performativity and dramatic convention in the Victorian criminal justice system”, *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 14 (2007), pp. 113-141.

<sup>66</sup> The *Illustrated Police News*, 28 May 1870, 4 May 1872, 3 February 1877, 3 February 1877.

crowds, further reinforcing the idea that the newspaper was providing its readers with an insider's view of the trial. Moreover, in many cases the jury were also depicted in the background, almost impassively observing the proceedings, rather than participating in the distribution of justice. It could be the case that these representations were used to suggest the supremacy of the law and the judgements made, and also restricting any criticisms of the law. This suggests continuity with the earlier representations of court proceedings in the press. Rosalind Crone's study of court proceedings in *Lloyd's Weekly*, a mass-circulation Sunday weekly emerging in the 1840s, found that court reporting provided little opportunity for critical engagement with the justice process. Instead, these weekly newspapers printed information from trials for entertainment value, while creating narratives of the justice system as a symbol of stability during a period of social upheaval.<sup>67</sup>

The illustration of the courtroom scene was part of a narrative, which offered the newspaper's reader the opportunity to act as a detective in the solving of the crime. It was common for the illustrations of these courtroom scenes to be accompanied by quasi-forensic pictures of either the crime scene, or the moment of the crime itself. These pictures imitated the gaze of the police and the investigative judge, and acted as further proof of the accused's guilt. In one instance, the reader is invited to adopt the gaze of a member of the jury, viewing a body as part of a murder inquiry. This allowed the reader to feel as though they had a role in the crime-solving process, even if they were shown evidence that simply confirmed the guilt of the offender. Here it is important to note that there was rarely any ambivalence in these illustrations; the accused was almost always guilty, and both the evidence and the depiction of the prisoner's appearance proved this. Perhaps this provides proof that like its broadside ancestors, the *IPN* was using these

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<sup>67</sup> Rosalind Crone, 'Publishing courtroom drama for the masses, 1820-1855' in David Lemmings (ed.), *Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1730-1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, )pp. 193-216.



courtroom depictions to further legitimise the punishment meted out to offenders: whether that be the death penalty or an extended period of penal servitude.

### **Retributive justice**

John Carter Wood posited that during the nineteenth century there was a decline in the ‘customary mentality’, whereby violence was no longer viewed as a legitimate form of expression, and could not be used to regulate society, resolve disputes or relieve social tensions. This culminated in the triumph of the civilising offensive over the customary mentality, a process that was complete by 1870. This meant that where illustrated, depictions of the restoration of justice in Britain typically centred on either the courtroom or punishments (typically execution, or in limited situations penal sentences). However, the *IPN* depicted retributive or customary justice that took place in other countries. During the 1930s a regular back-page illustration was allocated to the depiction of retributive or customary justice in less developed countries. The most common of these was the lynching of guilty men, and the display of a lynched victim’s head carried through the streets on a pole.<sup>68</sup> There was a strong racial element to these depictions, which usually involved black men, drawn in an almost caricature style. These depictions had a dual function – not only did they aim to entertain readers, but were also used to position Britain as an allegedly ‘civilised’ nation.

### **Punishment: Execution**

Whilst prison was the punishment most likely to be distributed to late nineteenth-century offenders, the main punishment illustrated was the spectacle of execution. Illustrations of execution continued to feature in the *IPN* after the abolition of public execution (1868), including in the early years of the twentieth century, employing the same narratives as its nineteenth-century illustrations. Like its broadside predecessors, execution was central to

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<sup>68</sup> *The IPN*, 26 March 1936.

the reporting and illustrations of the late nineteenth-century newspaper, and the *IPN* in particular. The Capital Punishment Amendment Act of 1868 moved the execution within the walls of the prison, and abolished what Charles Dickens had described as “the grotesque spectacle” of public executions. Whilst V.A.C. Gatrell has marked this act as a turning point, and a move towards a more civilised society, the removal this spectacle from the public sphere only served to increase the importance of representations of execution in the popular press in shaping everyday experiences of capital punishment. John Tulloch noted in his research that whilst execution became rarer in the Victorian era, it became more central to the cultural imagination because of its mass audience, mediated via the press.<sup>69</sup>

The newspaper focused in detail upon the executions of notorious criminals in much the same way as its broadside ancestors. Henry Mayhew’s investigations in the 1840s revealed that during the golden age of broadside publishing in the 1840s and 1850s as many as 2,500,000 broadsides were printed for the executions of the Mannings (1849) and Rush (1849).<sup>70</sup> In the 1860s this broadside trade seriously declined and after the abolition of public execution in 1868 the market collapsed.<sup>71</sup> However, interest in capital punishment persisted, creating a gap in the market that the *IPN* was able to fill. Whilst such scenes could not depict the same spectacle of the crowds directly viewing the execution, they still conveyed the same drama, with images of crowds waiting for news of the execution, the pinioning of prisoners, and the noose being placed around their necks. Such illustrations demonstrate that we cannot presume that the significance of execution in the drama of crime and its punishment was removed simply because of the abolition of public execution. The continued importance of execution will also be explored in chapter

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<sup>69</sup> John Tulloch, ‘The Privatising of Pain: Lincoln newspapers, “mediated publicness” and the end of public execution’, *Journalism Studies*, 7 (2006) p. 440.

<sup>70</sup> R. K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader: 1790-1848, Literary and Social Tension* (London: Georg Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1955), p. 31.

<sup>71</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), p.115.

4 (on criminal celebrities), where the depiction of execution in illustrations and reporting played a significant role in the conclusion of serial reporting of the most notorious crimes.

The *IPN* continued to illustrate execution in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the sample studied, as late as 1924 there was a full-page woodcut illustration of the ‘Execution of Mahon, the Crumbles Murderer’ (figure 3.12). This illustration depicted many of the same key moments captured in the nineteenth-century woodcuts of execution featured in the *IPN*: the prisoner speaking with the chaplain, being led to the scaffold, an action scene showing the moment of execution (with the chaplain reading the bible), and most importantly the large crowd of spectators outside Wandsworth prison. The reporting which accompanied these illustrations spoke of the large crowd outside, which consisted of ‘over 1,000 people, including a considerable proportion of women and girls’.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the newspaper noted that this was that second time in three weeks that ‘a great crowd had gathered outside the gates of Wandsworth on an execution morning’. This account differed from earlier narratives in that the accused did not confess his guilt at the end. Earlier illustrations in the *IPN* conformed to broadside tradition, showing the accused confessing to their guilt on the night before their execution, but here the accused continued to profess his innocence, and the newspaper noted that he ‘left farewell letters to his wife, his mother, and his brother, a North of England Clergyman, and reiterated his innocence in them all’.<sup>73</sup> This article also made reference to the material culture of the crime, informing readers that “the knife and saw bought to dismember the body of his victim are to be placed in the “Black Museum” at Scotland Yard where a number of relics used by other prisoners are kept”.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> The *IPN*, 11 September 1924, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> The *IPN*, 11 September 1924, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> The *IPN*, 11 September 1924, p. 5.

This was the last illustration of a English execution in the sample studied, and after 1924 the depiction of English executions was replaced with the illustration of executions abroad – both in France and America. There was also a declining number of ‘criminal celebrities’ featured in the *IPN* during the twentieth century, which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter on Criminal Celebrities. The last journalist to be admitted to an execution was in 1934, although it had become rare by the early twentieth century, and this was reflected in the declining prominence of execution in newspaper illustrations, both in terms of the number of illustrations and their position in the newspaper.<sup>75</sup> On 30 March 1930, there was a small illustration on page 3 of a condemned man, W. H. Podmore, being visited by his wife and child in his cell shortly before execution (figure 3.13), but there were no scenes from the execution itself. The decision to illustrate this emotional family scene instead of the more violent and dramatic moment of execution may be the result of increased difficulties journalists faced accessing the execution scene following changes to the British execution practice in the wake of the Aberdare Committee. It may have also been the result of growing ambivalence about modern punishment. David Garland’s research has illustrated the changing sensibilities and attempts to remove the body away from capital punishment, as images of the body in pain became increasingly intolerable and profane.<sup>76</sup>

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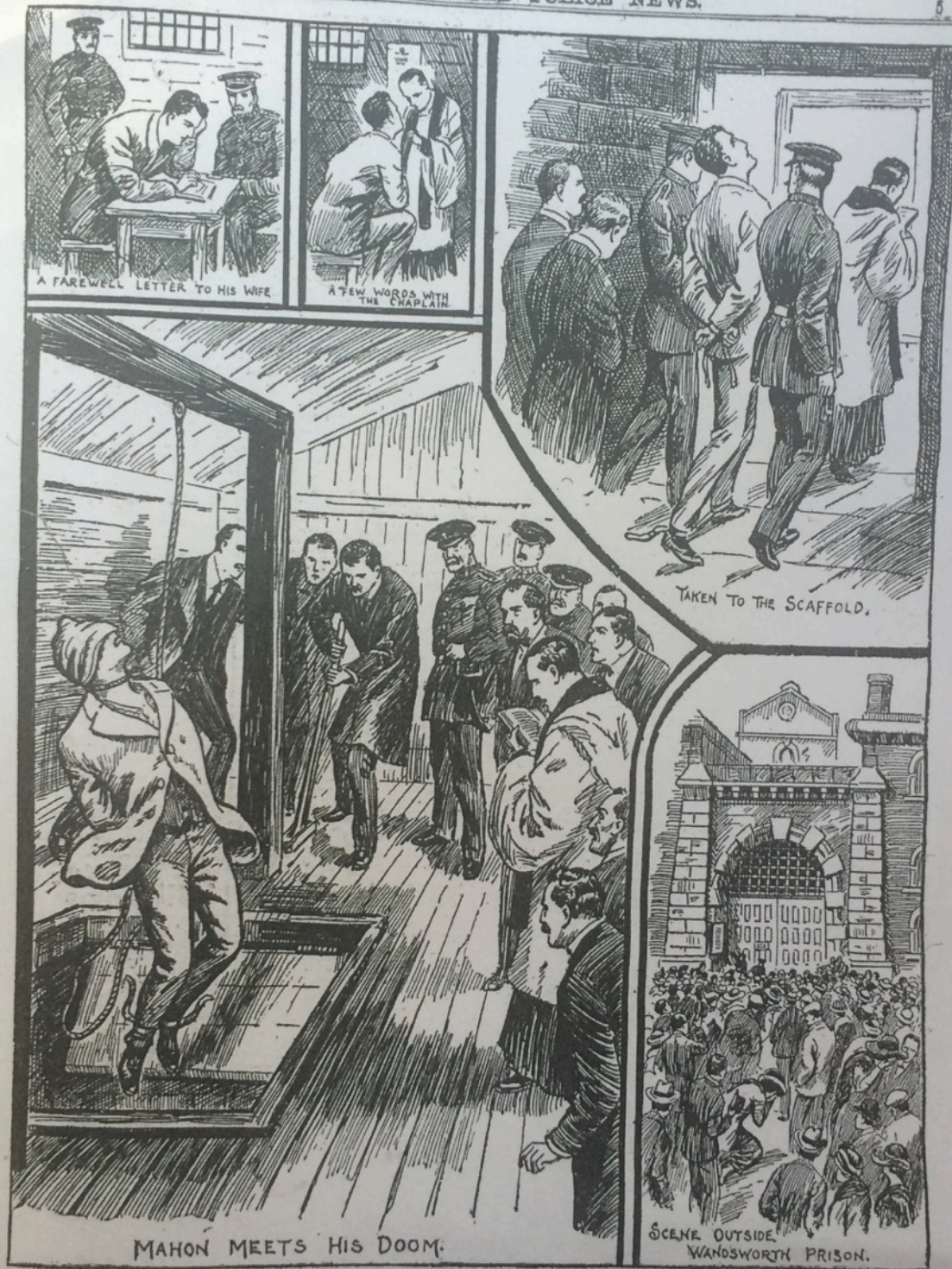
<sup>75</sup> Lizzie Seal, *Capital punishment in twentieth-century Britain: audience, memory, culture* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> D.Garland, ‘The Problem of the Body in Modern Punishment’, *Social Research* 78 (2011), pp. 767-98.

September 11, 1924.

THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS.

5



EXECUTION OF MAHON, THE CRUMBLES MURDERER.

Figure 3.12: The *IPN*, 11 September 1924, p. 5.



Despite this growing ambivalence about punishment, there continued to be an interest in the spectacle of execution. Scenes of violent retribution, either administered by common people (retributive justice outlined above), or by the law (state executions) were relocated to foreign countries. A number of twentieth-century provincial and London newspapers reported news of foreign executions, focusing predominantly on bungled executions and the resulting horror and pain, and occasionally the comedic details.<sup>77</sup> Like the editors of other twentieth-century British newspapers, the *IPN* editors sought to satisfy what they clearly understood to be their readers' fascination with the body as it was put to death, by reporting on executions in other countries. Public executions in other countries depicted in the *IPN* made readers feel more civilised, even though they enjoyed consuming images of them, because there were no pictures of this happening in Britain. Countries like France where execution still took place in public, and scenes from the US were still featured in illustrations. However, the *IPN* moved to illustrating these foreign executions a number of years after the other twentieth-century newspapers, which began to depict these foreign executions in the 1900s. It was not until the 1930s that the *IPN* consistently depicted foreign executions. On 11 September 1930 there was a full-page depiction of a French guillotine scene (figure 3.14). This guillotine scene was illustrated with woodcuts already familiar to readers, including the image of masses of spectators intently watching the execution, in addition to the priest presiding over the events. These familiar scenes both conveyed the spectacle and drama of the incident and also allowed readers to feel once again that they were spectating or observing the events at first hand. However, there were a number of differences. In contrast with the English condemned man, who often walked to his fate stoically and boldly, the French condemned man fought with his warders and

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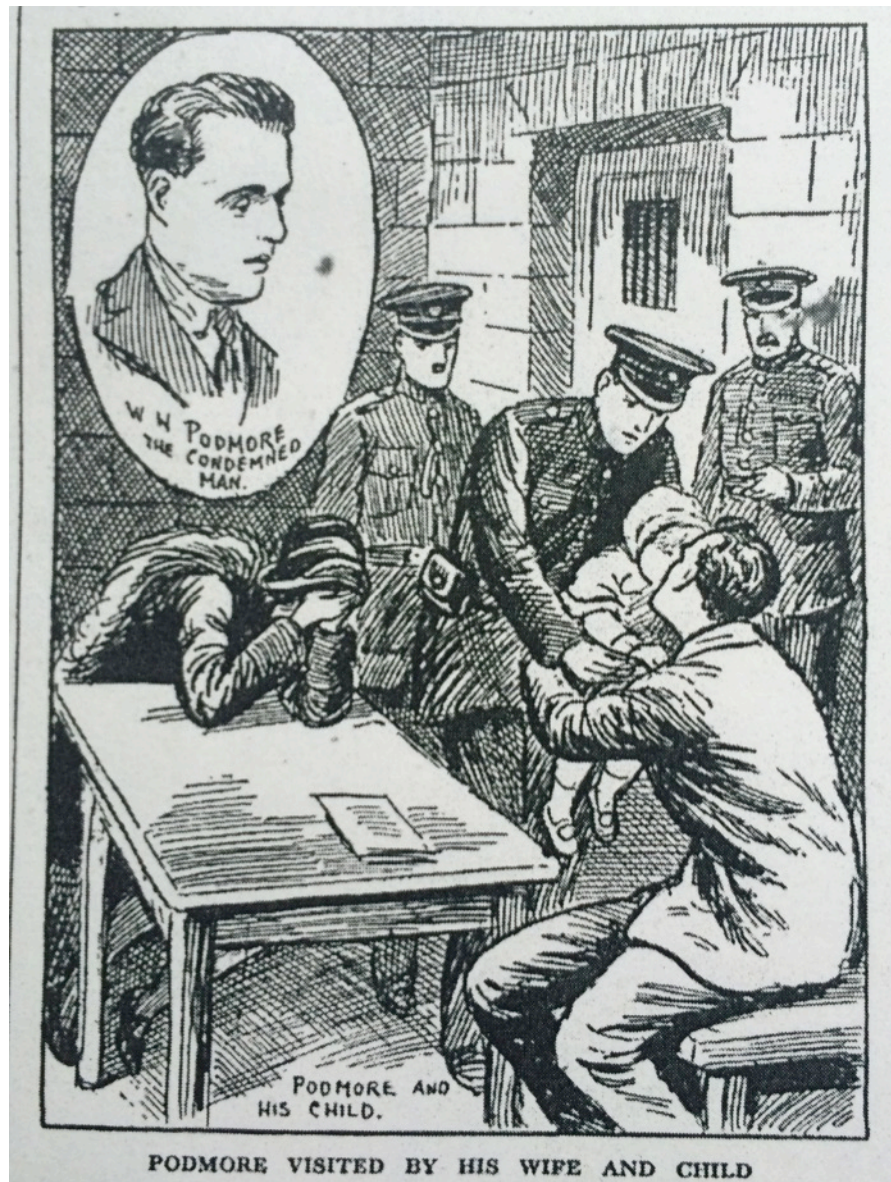
<sup>77</sup>'Public Execution in Frances', *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 12 November 1901; 'A Bungled Execution: Painful Scene at the Hanging of a Negro', *Western Times*, 26 November 1905 'A Ghastly Execution', *Manchester Guardian*, 10 December 1905, 'Capital Punishment in France', *The Times*, 13 June 1909; 'Execution of Traitors', *The Times*, 14 October 1909; Lizzie Seal, *Capital punishment in twentieth-century Britain: audience, memory, culture* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 37.

resisted his execution at every stage captured by illustrations. This further reinforced the notion that the English man was more civilised than the violent and unpredictable French.

There was also the depiction of an ‘Audience watch Negro executed in Lethal Chamber’ at Raleigh, in North Carolina, USA (figure 3.15). The headline’s description of this crowd as an ‘audience’, further underlines this as spectacle or entertainment, and the theatricality of the execution is reinforced in the sketch, which shows the gas chamber raised like a stage. Whether this was a suitable method of execution was also explored in the report accompanying the illustration, as when ‘the cloudy glass filled the chamber, the negro breathed spasmodically. He began to gasp and struggle in his chair. Several of the witnesses, who had expected the man to die immediately, expressed the opinion that the electric chair was more humane than the gas chamber’.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *IPN*, 12 March 1936, p. 2.



PODMORE VISITED BY HIS WIFE AND CHILD

Figure 3.13: The *IPN*, 2 March 1930, p. 3.



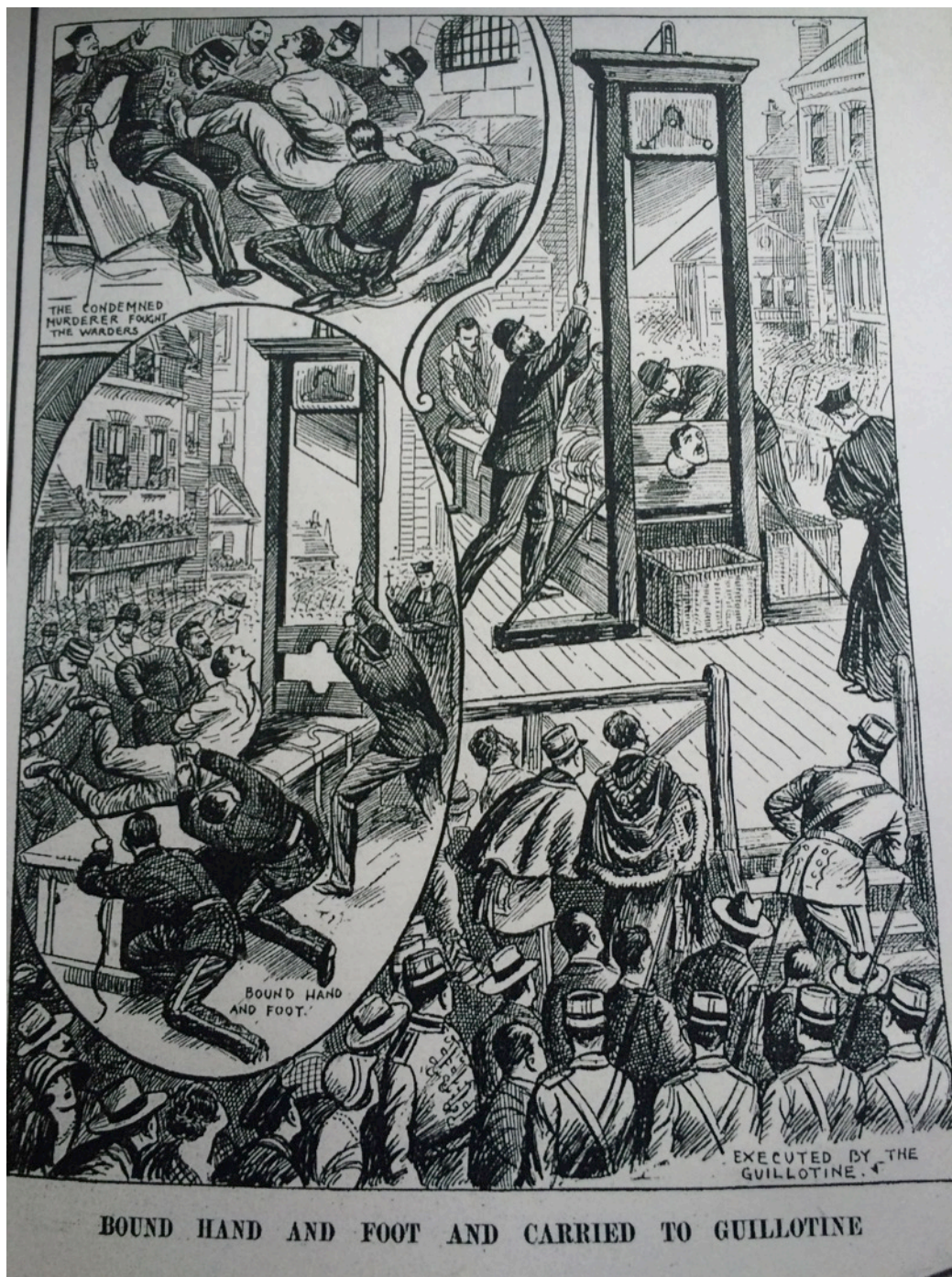


Figure 3.14: The *IPN*, 11 September 1930, p.5.





**Figure 3.15: The *IPN*, 12 March 1936, p. 12.**

The focus of this thesis is upon the representation of crime, especially violent crime, in the *IPN*, because it was a journal devoted to crime and in particular violent crime. However, we cannot study crime content alone, and this needs to be put into context of the rest of the newspaper's content. Therefore, the rest of this chapter will contain an analysis of the other types of illustration featured in the newspaper and their function.

### **Accidents and disasters**

As shown above, accidents and natural disasters were the second most frequently illustrated subject behind violent crime. Consistently featuring in the newspaper, scenes of accidents and disasters were more likely to be the subject of illustration than either non-violent crimes or suicides and mysterious deaths. This shows a continuation of broadside tradition, and demonstrates that readers were not only interested in depictions of crime, justice and punishment, but that sensation and drama was important. In the illustration of

accidents, such as colliery and train disasters, it was common for woodcuts to demonstrate the extent of fatalities (figure 3.16). Fires were mostly depicted as occurring in the night, enhancing their dramatic effect. Surrounded by a pitch black sky, the flames and smoke billowed threateningly from windows. The people depicted in this scene, and in particular the women and their children, were shown to be vulnerable to the effects of fire, and this sense of vulnerability was heightened by the depiction of the characters in their nightwear (figure 3.17).<sup>79</sup>

In addition to these large-scale spectacular accidents the newspaper also depicted smaller accidents, including fatalities caused by collapsing walls, falls from cliffs, cart accidents, and in the twentieth century, omnibus and motorcar accidents.



**Figure 3.16: *The IPN*, 6 April 1872, p. 1.<sup>80</sup>**

<sup>79</sup> Such illustrations of fire can be found in *The Illustrated Police News* on: 9 March 1867, 5 September 1868, 26 September 1868, 4 September 1869, 3 September 1870, 11 March 1871,

<sup>80</sup> Similar depictions of colliery disasters and explosion can be found in the following editions of the *IPN*: 23 March 1872, 28 September 1872, 11 March 1871, 27 March 1869, 25 December 1880, 17 November 1883, 4 October 1889, 18 November 1882, 28 November 1874, 22 June 1878, 16 September 1871, 28 September 1878, 31 July 1880, 1 March 1873.

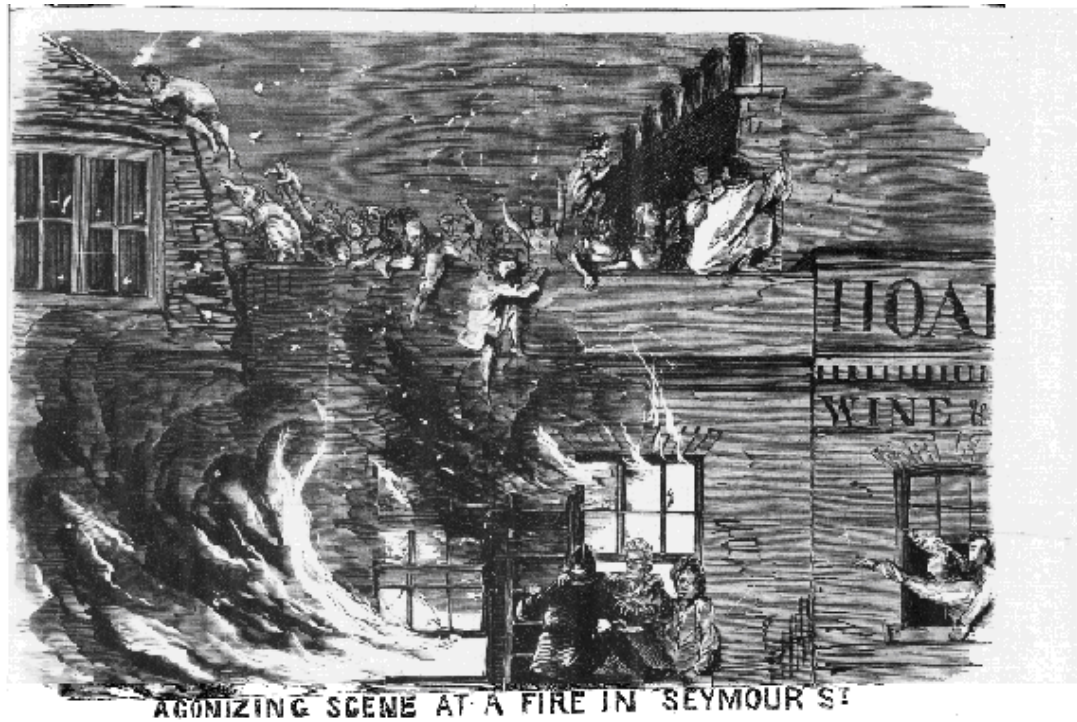


Figure 3.17: *The IPN*, 5 September 1868, p. 1.<sup>81</sup>

## War

The second Boer War and First World War both seriously disrupted the illustration content of the newspaper, as can be seen in table 3.2. During these periods of war it was the fighting efforts of the troops abroad that became almost the sole topic of illustration. During the second Boer War in the 1900 sample, 92.1 per cent of all illustrations concerned the war (although the serial story illustrations, which accounted for a further 1.4 per cent of illustrations, depicted fictional war stories). Similarly, the First World War also received a large portion of illustrations – 81.9 per cent of illustrations depicted war in 1915, falling to 61.7 per cent in 1918. This conforms with the notion that between the declaration of war on Germany in August 1914 and the Armistice in November 1918 reportage of crime committed within mainland Britain diminished rapidly and significantly in terms of space and content, particularly since the Boer War had already demonstrated

<sup>81</sup> Other depictions of fire include: 2 March 1867, 9 March 1867, 16 March 1872, 28 September 1872, 17, 29 September 1877, 9 September 1882, September 1887, 4 September 1869, 26 March 1887, 15 Juen 1867, 17 August 1867, 19 October 1867, 2 November 1867, 13 June 1885, 11 August 1888, 19 April 1884, 18 May 1889.

the power of the media.<sup>82</sup> The decrease in the proportion of illustrations depicting violent crime and non-violent crime during war, suggests the newsworthiness of war, and that the *IPN* responded to reader demand and interest to maintain sales. The displacement of illustrations of violent crime in favour of illustrations of war also masks the continued high levels of violence in the illustrations. Many of these visual depictions of war adopted the same illustrative techniques and scenes of violence, death, and destruction that could be found in the peacetime depictions of violent crimes and natural disasters. Such depictions could be equally sensationalist – depicting mass casualties, blood, and explosions. The enemy troops were often depicted in the same way as criminals, and were ‘othered’.

However, table 3.2 suggests that as the First World War progressed there emerged a war fatigue. Interest in the war, in particular in events on the battlefield, was high during the early stages of war, with March 1915 depicting numerous ‘heroic’ battle scenes from the trenches. However, as the war progressed, the war content, whilst still remaining the dominant topic of illustration, declined in its overall proportion of coverage. March 1918 saw the return to a spread of illustrations, including a number of murders, accidents and miscellaneous stories. Moreover, the nature of the war illustration changed. Instead of focusing solely on the activities of the troops abroad, illustrations began to depict the effects of war upon the Home Front, including sketches of ‘London's Great War Bond effort’, and the more human side of war, with a number of emotive headlines reading: ‘A British Soldier Foully Murdered. Shall we forget?’ (12 September 1918, p. 8), and another reading: ‘Orphaned French baby adopted by our Tommies’ (26 September 1918, p. 5). The newspaper even took to depicting titillating scenes, showing the ‘Disgraceful orgies’ at a ‘Hun seaside resort’ (5 September 1918, p. 8), combining the newspaper’s interest with scandal and sensation, with the wider interest in war and anti-German attitude.

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<sup>82</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg eds.; *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), p. 114-5.

Coverage of the First World War further highlights the differing purposes of illustrations throughout the newspaper. Whilst the newspaper illustrations were almost entirely given to depictions of war, those produced upon the centre-pages were the most shocking and visually arresting. Centre-pages were reserved for the expansive battle scenes, depicting the most ‘thrilling’ stories of heroic charges and ‘glorious victories’.<sup>83</sup> Hundreds of soldiers, often engaged in ferocious running battles, with guns waving alarmingly in the air can be seen throughout these action-filled scenes.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, earlier war scenes, particularly those in March 1915, focused upon the position of specific regiments, such as the Worcester Regiment, the Queens, South Wales Borderers, the Scots Guard, King’s (Liverpool), Royal Berkshires, Bedfordshires, and Lincolns, which were often illustrated and mapped out.<sup>85</sup> These highly stylised scenes seemed to be produced to allow readers to follow the progress of loved ones, and point with pride or collect illustrations charting their progress and victories. Later battle illustrations from September 1915 often depicted exciting air raids, or submarine attacks, replete with impressive explosions, but still filled with large numbers of running figures and casualties.<sup>86</sup> The depiction of these scenes was possible with the engraving techniques used by the *IPN*, which could be customised in response to reader demand.

Table 3.2 shows that in the years after each of the wars, crime coverage increased – in 1897 the violent crime coverage accounted for 44.8 per cent of all illustrations, whilst after the second Boer War coverage increased to 50.2 per cent in 1903 and then 60.1 per cent in 1906. Similarly depictions of violent crime increased from 51.7 per cent in 1912 up to 63.0 per cent in 1921 and stabilising at 60.4 in 1924. Beattie and Hay have identified the

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<sup>83</sup> *The IPN*, 11 March 1915, p. 8-9; *The IPN*, 25 March 1915, pp. 8-9.

<sup>84</sup> *The IPN*, 2 September 1915, pp. 8-9;

<sup>85</sup> *The IPN*, 11 March 1915, p. 8-9; 18 March 1915, *The IPN*, 25 March 1915, pp. 8-9.

<sup>86</sup> *The IPN*, 23 September 1915, pp. 8-9.; *The IPN*, 16 September 1915, pp. 8-9; *The IPN*, 9 September 1915, pp. 8-9.



correlation between war and incidence of crime, and its reflection in contemporary newspaper reporting in their studies of the eighteenth-century press. They suggest that during periods of war there was decreased criminal activity. Compulsory enlistment sent those men most likely to have been involved in crime abroad to fight, thus removing the criminal element from the streets (and those already awaiting trial or punishment from the prisons) as well as easing pressures on food supply and employment by freeing up positions. Employment opportunities also increased as jobs were created to support the war effort. Conversely the conclusion of wars reversed this trend, by releasing into society vast numbers of disbanded soldiers and sailors, who found it difficult to find employment and maintain themselves, and furthermore were brutalised by war.<sup>87</sup>

Whilst there were more illustrations pertaining to crime in the *IPN* the returning soldier was not depicted as brutalised. It was not brutality engendered by war, but rather the domestic upheaval created by the war, which newspaper reports claimed led to violence from returning soldiers, and reference was repeatedly made to the ‘unwritten rule’.<sup>88</sup> This unwritten rule referred to men returning home from the Front to discover that their wives had gone off with other men while they had been away, which often led to violence. The newspaper was sympathetic to the returning soldiers in these instances. This supported Clive Emsley’s study of the impact of the war upon representations of violent crime in the post-war First World War press, which found that the returning war veteran was not the subject of a moral panic surrounding the brutalising effect of war upon returning soldiers as might be expected.<sup>89</sup> Neither *The Times* nor *The News of the World* sensationalised a

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<sup>87</sup> Beattie, ‘The Pattern of Crime’, pp.93-5; Hay ‘War, Dearth and Theft’, pp. 124-6, 135-46.

<sup>88</sup> The ‘unwritten rule’ references the sympathy or more lenient sentence that a man would sometimes receive for committing assaults in response to his wife establishing other relationships while he had been away at war. For more information about this, see: Clive Emsley, ‘Violent crime in England in 1919: post-war anxieties and press narratives’, *Continuity and Change*, 23(2008), pp. 173–195, p.184.

<sup>89</sup> Clive Emsley, ‘Violent crime in England in 1919: post-war anxieties and press narratives’, *Continuity and Change*, 23(2008), pp. 173–195, p.190.

particular violent individual as the creation of war, instead using ‘the brutalisation of war’ as a broad explanation for an event or a series of events.<sup>90</sup>

There was an increase in the depiction of violence committed by foreigners in the post-war period, and the nationalities of Britain’s wartime enemies was highlighted in illustrations and their subtitles, which included: “German brutally assaults his English wife”.<sup>91</sup> The purpose of this increased crime content in post-war illustrations was to entertain. This shows continuity from the eighteenth-century press, which according to Clive Emsley increased its crime content post-war, as ‘when peace came the newspapers found themselves with space to fill because of a decline in exciting, foreign, war news: crime stories were exciting’.<sup>92</sup>

### **Miscellaneous**

As table 3.2 demonstrates, illustrations of violent crime were counter-balanced with a range of ‘miscellaneous’ illustrations, which constituted a sizable proportion of newspaper illustration (roughly about twenty per cent). Some of the more bizarre and entertaining illustrations included the depiction of a woman whose wig had fallen off whilst bathing in the sea; a jealous wife who wrongly suspected her husband of adultery and so hid in a coal bin to try and catch him out; and a bridegroom who ran straight to the pub after his wedding.<sup>93</sup> The doom and gloom of violent crime was contrasted with a range of humorous or human-interest stories. A number of topics were popular with illustrators, including unexplained supernatural occurrences, but also apparent ‘supernatural events’ which had an explanation, including the instance of a man pretending to be a ghost who

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<sup>90</sup> Clive Emsley, ‘Violent crime in England in 1919: post-war anxieties and press narratives’, *Continuity and Change*, 23(2008), pp. 173–195, p. 176.

<sup>91</sup> *The IPN*, 8 September 1921, p. 5, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900*, (London: Pearson, 1987), fourth edition 2010, p. 35.

<sup>93</sup> *The IPN*, 24 September 1870, p. 1; *The IPN*, 24 March 1906, p. 1; *The IPN*, 18 September 1887, p. 1.



was caught out.<sup>94</sup> Practical jokes were also popular topics of illustration, with jokes including the staging of a mock murder, a joke advertisement resulting in a man being inundated with monkey owners knocking at his door, and a young Lord taking a policeman's hat.<sup>95</sup> Any usual event involving coffins and undertakers also caught the attention of the *IPN's* illustrators. These included the illustration of an undertaker removing a body from the coffin when the family was unable to pay the funeral costs, the calamity surrounding a Catholic body which caught fire at a wake, and more bizarrely, the anger of holiday-makers who threw a coffin into the sea after it was sent instead of a stretcher to tend to an injured person.<sup>96</sup> The most popular of these human-interest stories involved animals. There were a large number of stories concerning animals undertaking remarkable feats, ranging from escaping, disturbing tea parties, outwitting humans, exhibiting marvellous loyalty, or simply attacking humans.<sup>97</sup> These illustrations were intended to provide readers with light relief and entertainment. They offered a balance, breaking up the illustrations of extreme violence and crime. This was important, as the newspaper's primary function was to entertain readers, and a concentration of images of violent crime could present readers with the image of an out of control and frightening world.

## Suicide

As table 3.2 and 3.3 highlights, suicide and unexplained deaths occupied a small, although increasing proportion of newspaper illustrations during the period of study. There was a noticeable peak in the representation of suicide during the 1920s, increasing to 11 per cent

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<sup>94</sup> Examples of unexplained supernatural occurrences: a girl who was allegedly entranced for two years, *The IPN*, 15 March 1873, p. 1; the sighting of a spectral horseman in Lincolnshire, *The IPN*, 16 March 1876, p. 1; the unexplained seizure of a medium *The IPN*, 30 September 1882; the observation of a ghost outside a Birmingham Church, *The IPN*, 8 September 1894, p. 1; Man pretending to be a ghost, *The IPN*, 29 September 1894, p. 1.

<sup>95</sup> *The IPN*, 2 September 1882, p. 1; *The IPN*, 27 March 1897, p. 1; *The IPN*, 26 March 1870, p. 1.

<sup>96</sup> *The IPN*, 13 September 1883, p. 1; *The IPN*, 15 September 1888, p. 1; *The IPN*, 21 September 1933, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> *The IPN*, 14 September 1867, p. 1; *The IPN*, 21 September 1867, p. 1; *The IPN*, 17 September 1870, p. 1; *The IPN*, 25 March 1876, p. 1; *The IPN*, 9 September 1876, p. 1;

of all illustrations during the decade. Like the depictions of crime and sensational accidents, these depictions of suicide usually focused upon the circumstances of the death, with illustrations either showing the moment of suicide or the discovery of the body. These included scenes such as a woman jumping from the cliff at Hastings, looked on helplessly by a policeman and another man in 1921, or a man leaping in front of a train (figure 3.18), or a son's discovery of a father who had gassed himself (figure 3.19).<sup>98</sup> These scenes show a number of continuities with depictions of suicide in the eighteenth-century popular press identified by Michael MacDonald. He showed that during the eighteenth century the rise of the popular press coincided with wider changes in attitudes and responses to suicide. He showed that in eighteenth century the longer reports of suicide were included among the news of violent crimes and sensational accidents. These accounts were usually based upon evidence heard before the coroners' courts, and above all focused upon the circumstances of the death, with occasional reference to the suicide's motive or state of mind.<sup>99</sup> These suicides were usually depicted sympathetically, including the 'tragic discovery in Bermondsey', of a man who had slit his neck in the bath in 1921. The accompanying written report, printed inside the newspaper, noted that the man had the 'highest reputation', and had served in the Army.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *The IPN*, 10 March 1921;

<sup>99</sup> Michael MacDonald, 'Suicide and the Rise of the Popular Press in England', *Representations* 22 (Spring, 1988), pp. 36-55.

<sup>100</sup> *The IPN*, 24 March 1921.

THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS—SEPTEMBER 7th 1933.  
**THE WEST BROMWICH MURDER** (See Page 5).

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# POLICE NEWS

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THE OLDEST AND BEST POLICE JOURNAL IN THE WORLD,  
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**ESTABLISHED 1864**

No. 3628 [REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O.  
 AS A NEWSPAPER]

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1933

TWOPENCE



**WOMAN'S PLUCKY EFFORT TO SAVE MAN FROM SUICIDE**

Figure 3.18: *The IPN*, 7 September 1933, p. 1





## Sport

Table 3.2 shows that from the late 1880s sport began to receive greater attention from the illustrators of the *IPN*. This increased interest in sport reflected the changing leisure practices of society, and the increased presence of sporting news within the press, which has been associated by some as part of a move towards New Journalism.<sup>101</sup> However, the proportion of illustrations dedicated to sport was much lower than violent crime or other sensational scenes, even in the years immediately before the transition to a sporting newspaper. The absence of such sport illustrations might reveal a number of things. First, that working-class interest in sport was largely centred on gambling, which explains the increased space in the newspaper dedicated to betting tips and league tables. Second, that the newspaper was unable to compete with photographic depictions of sporting events in other newspapers. Thirdly, that there remained an appetite for woodcut illustrations of violent crime and sensation. Consequently, whilst the introduction of sports coverage in some areas of the newspaper signalled changes in the press, for instance in the introduction of starting price odds and race results for horse-racing, the sports illustrations within the *IPN* provide further evidence of continuity, rather than change.

The types of sports most likely to be depicted, also suggest that there was much continuity in the newspaper's illustration of sport. Table 3.4 provides a breakdown of the types of sports represented in illustrations between 1867 and 1933. Where there years are not included there were no illustrations of sport featured. The sport most likely to be illustrated was boxing, which comprised over half of all sport illustrations (table 3.4). Coverage of the World Boxing Championships was responsible for the unusually high proportion of sports illustrations in 1888, when the 28 per cent of all illustrations depicted

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<sup>101</sup> Matthew McIntire, 'Odds, Intelligence, and Prophecies: Racing News in the Penny Press, 1855-1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41 (2008), p 353; Tony Mason pointed out that the nineties were the key decade so far as the daily press was concerned, Tony Mason, 'Sporting News, 1860-1914' in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Harris and Alan Lee (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), p. 174.

sporting events (table 3.2). Other sports, such as football, only received coverage when something spectacular occurred, such as the ‘Scenes from Saturday’s Tropical Football’, where the unusually hot weather led to the exhaustion of players and the dehydration of spectators.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, the most frequent sporting representations, in particular those of boxing (figure 3.20), were strikingly similar to the depictions of violent crimes, or the earlier depictions of customary fights (figure 3.21). As figure 3.20 demonstrates, depictions of boxing bore many of the characteristics of *IPN* illustrations. There was movement, action, and the boxers assumed set positions and stances. Moreover, in keeping with the reporting of crime and disasters, portraits of the main actors in this drama were produced for the reader. Large crowds of spectators were emphasised, further encouraging the reader to feel as though they were also in the crowd, witnessing these scenes at first hand. However, despite this continuation of violence and melodrama, some of the *IPN*’s illustrated depictions of boxing did attempt to highlight the respectability of the sport. The full-page illustration of the headquarters of boxing in the Midlands (figure 3.22) presented the ‘Grand Hall’ boxing arena as something similar to a drawing room, full of portraits, lavish hanging chandeliers, and plants. The portraits of the manager and treasurer of the association were depicted as gentleman, given the titles ‘Esq’, with their respectability further reinforced through their clothing and facial hair. Therefore the customary mentality associated with boxing was able to exist without challenging notions of respectability or the civilising process, because traditional dispute resolution had been made respectable in a codified sport.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *The IPN*, 8 September 1906, p.13.

<sup>103</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 268.

**Table 3.4 Sport illustrations in The IPN, 1867-1933**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Total coverage of sport (pages)</i>	<i>Boxing</i>	<i>Walking</i>	<i>Football</i>	<i>Rowing</i>	<i>Other <sup>a</sup></i>
March 1876	0.40	0.00	<b>0.40</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00
March 1888	2.81	<b>2.43</b>	<b>0.25</b>	0.00	0.00	<b>0.13</b>
Sept 1892	0.25	<b>0.25</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
September 1894	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
March 1897	1.00	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sept 1897	1.00	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sept 1900	0.50	<b>0.50</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
March 1903	3.00	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	1.00
Sept 1906	2.50	0.00	0.00	<b>0.50</b>	<b>2.00</b>	0.00
March 1909	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.50</b>
Sept 1921	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.25</b>
March 1927	1.00	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Total coverage</i>	13.29	7.18	0.65	1.50	2.00	1.96
<i>Coverage of categories of sport (%)</i>		54.03	4.89	11.29	15.05	14.75

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup> *Other: Rugby, Ice Skating, Running, Cock-fighting*

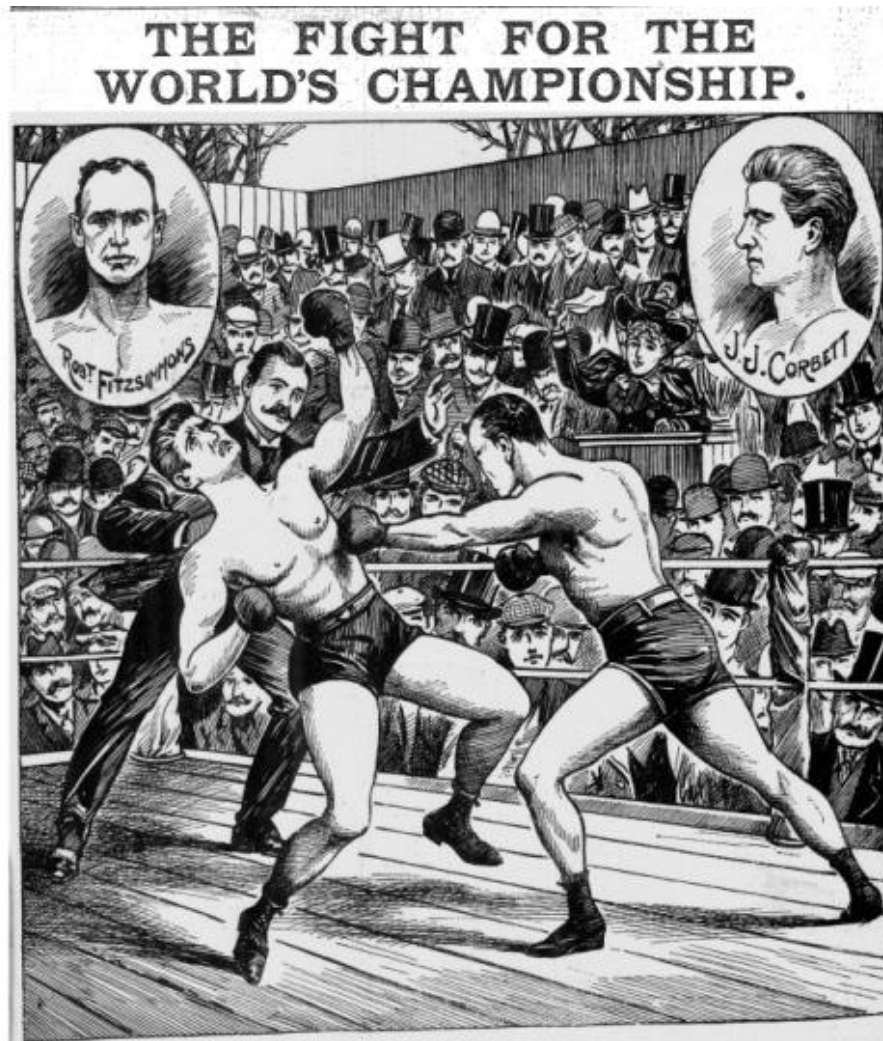
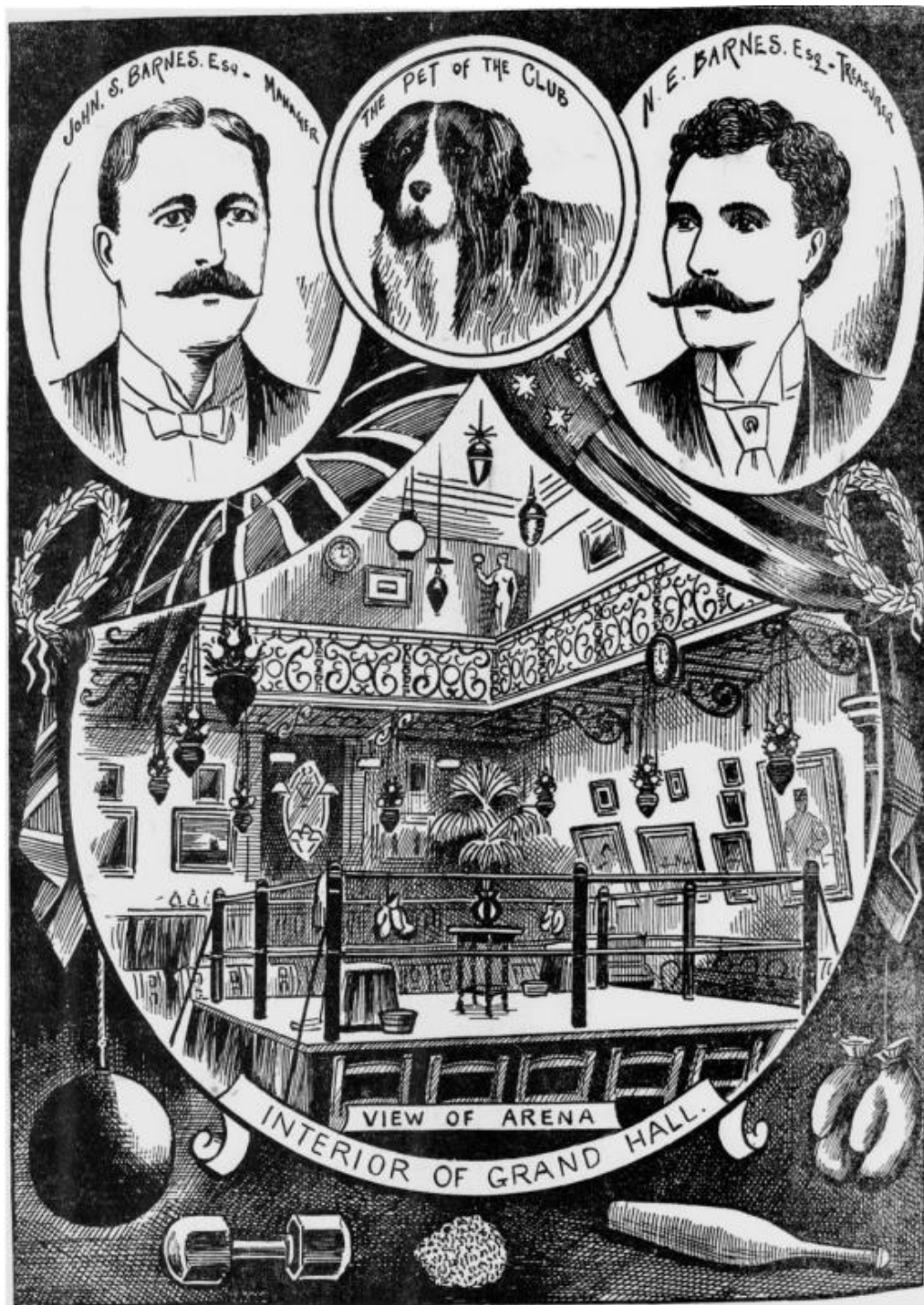


Figure 3.20: *The IPN*, 24 March 1897, p. 1.



Figure 3.21: *The IPN*, 9 September 1882, p. 1.





THE HEADQUARTERS OF BOXING IN THE MIDLANDS.  
THE OLYMPIC CLUB, BIRMINGHAM.

Figure 3.22: The *IPN*, 25 September 1897, p. 6

## Conclusion

Illustration was one of the most important components of the newspaper. Depictions of violent crimes and dramatic accidents and adventures were used to appeal to regular readers and subscribers alongside one-off impulse purchasers. Like the earlier innovative popular Sunday newspapers such as *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (1845) or *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* (1850), the *IPN* sought to incorporate styles and features from other genres, such as broadsides and melodrama, into the newspaper to further ensure its success.<sup>104</sup> Unlike melodrama and the earlier graphic journalism of the 1840s, the illustrations featured in the *IPN* lacked the working-class politics and concern for 'useful' knowledge. Instead, the primary function of these illustrations was entertainment, and this remained the main priority throughout the newspaper's publication history. The subject of these illustrations, in particular the continued preference for violent crime and sensational accidents and natural disasters, suggests that spectacle continued to be a source of entertainment. Whether depicting murder, a ferocious fire, or a tragic suicide, there was a continued emphasis upon drama, action, and spectacle. In addition to continuity in subject matter, there was also continuity in production methods. The most striking continuity was the continued use of wood-engravings, even after the photograph became widely used in the newspaper press.

Despite these continuities, there were still some changes throughout the period. For example, war had a disruptive impact upon the newspaper's illustrations. Illustrations of the war, depicting either fighting on the front or the effects of war upon the home front, largely displaced illustrations of crime. There were also changes in technology and minor changes in printing practices, which resulted in larger pictures, more pages, and pictures throughout the newspaper. The depiction of women also changed in the late nineteenth

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<sup>104</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.210.

century, suggesting that the newspaper reflected changing societal attitudes to women, and their increasing sexualisation.

Nevertheless, for all of these changes, the rate of change in illustration practices in the *IPN* was much slower than in other popular newspapers. Given the newspaper's emergence during the decline of the broadside trade, it is perhaps not surprising that the newspaper initially incorporated many of the key features of the broadside tradition. The continued representation of execution suggests that despite the decline of broadsides, interest in capital punishment, especially images of execution, persisted, and the *IPN* filled the gap left by these older publications. This interest in execution continued into the twentieth century, and employed the same narratives as the broadside, focusing on the crime, the trial and the gallows. Readers continued consume graphic representations of British execution scenes in the *IPN* until the 1920s, when changing sensibilities meant that there was an attempt to remove the body away from capital punishment, and images of the body in pain became increasingly intolerable. Even in the 1920s execution scenes did not completely disappear from the pages of the *IPN* altogether. Instead, scenes of violent retribution – administered either by the common people or by the law – were relocated to foreign countries. This repackaging of graphic depictions of violence and punishment suggests that whilst it readers wanted to create a distance between their own 'civilised' society and this extreme violence, when consumed from a distance such subjects still appealed to reader interest and were considered economically viable. This sustained interest in execution, combined with the continued dominance of images of violent crime throughout the newspaper's publication history further supports Rosalind Crone's work on early nineteenth-century violent entertainments. Like her study of popular crime-reporting genres, this chapter has demonstrated that the graphic depiction of violence can be

considered a kind of cultural amoeba – always present in British society, but changing its meaning and shape depending on external pressures.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

**Table 3.2: Categories of illustrations – number of pages, number of illustrations, and proportion of coverage in the IPN, 1867-1938 (%)**

N= Number of pages (the number in brackets denotes the number of illustrations)

%= Proportion of illustrations

(Each year includes March and September)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total no of pages</i>	<i>Violent Crime</i>		<i>Non-violent crime</i>		<i>Accidents/ natural disasters</i>		<i>Suicide/ mysterious death</i>		<i>Serial story illustration</i>		<i>Misc</i>		<i>Sport</i>		<i>Scandal</i>		<i>War</i>	
		<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
1867	5.5 (30)	2.9 (14)	52.7	0.3 (2)	4.5	1.2 (7)	21.8	0.3 (2)	4.5	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.9 (5)	16.4	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1870	8.0 (26)	2.8 (12)	35.0	0.3 (2)	4.1	1.8 (4)	22.9	0.2 (1)	2.5	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.2 (5)	14.6	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.7 (1)	8.4	1.0 (1)	12.5
1873	9.0 (45)	4.0 (20)	43.8	1.0 (4)	11.1	2.2 (10)	24.3	0.4 (2)	4.7	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.0 (7)	10.6	0.0 (0)	5.0	0.5 (2)	5.5	0.0 (0)	0.0
1876	11.0 (64)	3.3 (17)	30.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	7.9 (16)	71.5	0.4 (4)	3.8	0.0 (0)	0.0	4.3 (24)	39.1	0.4 (1)	3.6	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1879	9.0 (37)	6.9 (21)	76.5	0.1 (2)	1.3	0.1 (2)	1.4	0.1 (1)	0.7	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.8 (10)	19.4	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.0
1882	9.0 (63)	4.5 (26)	50.2	2.4 (14)	26.4	0.8 (8)	8.4	0.4 (5)	4.9	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.9 (9)	10.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1885	8.0 (39)	2.5 (11)	30.8	2.6 (7)	32.1	1.1 (10)	13.9	0.1 (1)	0.7	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.3 (9)	16.2	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.5 (1)	6.2	0.0 (0)	0.0
1888	10.0 (50)	4.4 (22)	43.8	0.3 (1)	2.5	1.4 (10)	13.6	0.1 (1)	1.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.1 (8)	10.8	2.8 (8)	28.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1892*	8.9 (59)	4.1 (25)	45.5	0.8 (4)	9.3	1.7 (7)	19.1	0.4 (6)	3.9	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.7 (16)	19.4	0.3 (1)	2.8	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1894	10.0 (74)	4.0 (29)	40.2	1.0 (7)	9.6	2.1 (17)	21.1	1.3 (10)	13.4	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.3 (9)	13.0	0.1 (1)	0.8	0.2 (1)	2.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1897	29.0 (40)	13.0 (19)	44.8	3.3 (5)	11.2	3.0 (4)	10.3	2.3 (3)	7.8	0.0 (0)	0.0	4.0 (5)	13.8	2.0 (2)	6.9	1.5 (2)	5.2	0.0 (0)	0.0
1900	46.2 (49)	0.8 (4)	1.6	1.5 (3)	3.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.7 (5)	1.4	0.3 (1)	0.5	0.5 (1)	1.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	42.5 (35)	92.1

1903	48.8 (54)	24.5 (25)	50.2	2.5 (4)	5.1	10.0 (9)	20.5	1.5 (2)	3.1	0.8 (4)	1.6	6.5 (7)	13.3	3.0 (3)	6.2	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1906	61.2 (70)	36.8 (37)	60.1	3.5 (3)	5.7	8.3 (8)	13.5	4.0 (5)	6.5	1.2 (9)	1.9	3.0 (5)	4.9	2.5 (2)	4.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	2.0 (1)	3.3
1909	49.4 (64)	21.8 (24)	44.1	3.5 (4)	7.1	15.3 (17)	30.9	6.0 (8)	12.2	1.4 (8)	2.8	1.0 (2)	2.0	0.5 (1)	1.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1912	55.2 (65)	28.5 (30)	51.7	1.5 (2)	2.7	14.0 (11)	25.4	7.0 (8)	12.7	1.2 (9)	2.1	3.0 (5)	5.4	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1915	55.5 (63)	5.5 (8)	9.9	0.5 (1)	0.9	1.0 (1)	1.8	1.5 (4)	2.7	1.5 (9)	2.8	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	45.5 (40)	81.9
1918	30.0 (40)	3.0 (7)	10.0	0.5 (1)	1.7	1.8 (3)	5.8	2.5 (3)	8.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	3.8 (5)	12.5	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	18.5 (21)	61.7
1921	27.0 (45)	17.0 (25)	63.0	1.3 (2)	4.6	1.0 (1)	3.7	4.0 (6)	14.8	0.0 (0)	0.0	2.5 (8)	9.3	0.3 (1)	0.9	0.5 (1)	1.9	0.5 (1)	0.0
1924	24.0 (40)	14.5 (22)	60.4	0.3 (1)	1.0	6.3 (10)	26.0	2.0 (3)	8.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.5 (2)	2.1	0.5 (2)	2.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1927	30.5 (50)	12.3 (17)	40.2	2.0 (4)	6.6	7.5 (13)	24.6	2.8 (5)	9.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	3.8 (8)	12.3	1.3 (2)	4.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	1.0 (1)	3.3
1930	24.0 (40)	13.5 (19)	56.3	1.0 (3)	4.2	2.5 (4)	10.4	0.8 (3)	3.1	0.0 (0)	0.0	4.8 (9)	19.8	1.5 (2)	6.3	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1933	27.0 (45)	15.0 (19)	55.6	0.0 (0)	0.0	5.3 (11)	19.4	4.8 (10)	17.6	0.0	0.0	2.0 (5)	20.4	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0
1936	23.6 (49)	13.0 (24)	55.1	1.0 (1)	4.2	3.5 (5)	14.9	1.0 (1)	4.2	3.2 (14)	13.3	1.9 (4)	8.2	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0	0.0 (0)	0.0

\*no copies for 1891, so used 1892 instead

The lines in the table denote the changes in newspaper structure:

- 1867-1894: 4 pages
- March 1897: 8 pages
- September 1897- Sept 1900: 12 pages
- March 1903-September 1915: 16 pages
- March 1918: 12 pages
- 21 March 1918- September 1936: 8 page

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## Criminal Celebrities

The previous chapter showed that during the late nineteenth-century illustrations of the most serious of violent crimes, murder, often followed a set formula or narrative. The most sensational murders could receive intense interest, with the coverage of the crimes stretching across many weeks. Occasionally, the newspaper would select and focus upon the individual perpetrators of these crimes, printing in minute detail information about their character, behaviour, and activities. Some of these characters received celebrity-like status, featuring in reports printed in the newspaper on a weekly basis from the discovery of the crime, through the trial, and up to their execution. After their death, the memory of these individuals lived on, both in the spin-off publications published by George Purkess junior, but also in the newspaper's future crime reporting. The chapter will show how these characters became 'celebrities', using Tom Mole's definition of celebrity as 'a cultural apparatus consisting of three elements: an individual, an industry and an audience'.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the rise of the celebrity has been attributed to the emergence of New Journalism in the 1870s, this chapter will demonstrate that like the newspaper's illustrations, the *IPN*'s representation of the 'criminal celebrity' was a continuation of older print forms. In particular, it showed continuity from the representations of criminals in the Newgate Accounts, the Newgate Calendar, and most notably the broadside. Traditionally, the early twentieth century and inter-war period has often described as the golden age for crime

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<sup>1</sup> Tom Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 1.



reporting in which the criminal enjoyed and acquired a celebrity status.<sup>2</sup> However, this chapter will show that the criminal celebrity disappeared from the pages of the *IPN* during the twentieth century, in contrast with the popular daily press. This could have been a conscious decision of the editors of the *IPN*. Unable to compete with the mainstream press, the *IPN* always sought to maintain a unique selling point, offering its readers something that other newspapers did not provide. Therefore, when popular newspapers began to focus on celebrity criminals, the *IPN* needed to offer something different. Despite this decline of the criminal celebrity in the newspaper's reporting, during the *IPN*'s last decade of publication there was an increased interest in the historical criminal celebrity, demonstrating the continued interest in some of these older narratives. This chapter will show that a number of factors combined to result in this decline. Following through Tom Mole's definition, the chapter will demonstrate that whilst there continued to be offenders worthy of celebrity status, two of the ingredients of this apparatus – the industry and the audience – had changed. First, the representation of these criminal celebrities followed the template of gallows literature, and their notoriety was largely a result of the punishment that awaited them. Therefore, when execution was less frequently illustrated in the *IPN* and people became less comfortable with depictions of bodily pain, the focus on the criminal celebrity decreased as a vital element of the story's narrative was removed. More importantly, the rise of the daily popular newspaper and its increasing circulation meant that those interested in the specific crimes and criminal celebrities were able to follow the case every day in the daily newspapers, instead of waiting for the weekly updates provided in the *IPN*. Moreover, such newspaper reports would print photographs, and the realism of these images offered the promise of a more authentic and intimate experience with the celebrity criminal. Editors of the *IPN* realised that the newspaper would be unable to compete with these daily newspapers and so reduced its focus on criminal celebrities. It

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<sup>2</sup> John Carter Wood, "*The Most Remarkable Woman in England*": *Poison, celebrity and the trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 68.

was this adaptability and ability to respond to the challenges of competition from the mainstream press which meant that the *IPN* was able to continue publishing for so long, while a number of similar newspapers folded.

Using four case studies, this chapter will analyse the presentation of the criminal in the *IPN*. The chapter will study the reportage of well-known crimes and criminals from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in order to see whether the *IPN* created criminal celebrities, and if so how it did this. Selected over the course of the newspaper's publication history, and covering a range of genders and social positions, these criminals are: Frederick Baker (1867), Florence Maybrick (1889-1893), Thomas Henry Allaway (1922) and Beatrice Pace (1928). Through an analysis of the quantity and content of the reporting, this chapter will show that during the nineteenth century, the newspaper adopted a formula in the reporting of murder and serious violent crime, which created a number of criminal celebrities. Through its analysis of the rise, decline, and representation of the criminal celebrity in the *IPN* this chapter seeks to do a number of things. Firstly, it aims to position the *IPN* more clearly in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century print culture. Secondly, it will show the function of criminal celebrity reporting. Thirdly, it will examine the way in which the newspaper drew on existing stereotypes or discourses of criminality in circulation at its foundation, and continued to promote these in the twentieth century.

Richard Salmon has shown that the emergence of New Journalism encouraged the 'personalisation' of the subject and the object of journalism.<sup>3</sup> However, as established in the introduction, many features attributed to 'New Journalism' – including the celebrity – were not new. A number of factors coalesced between 1780 and 1830, which led to the rise of the dynamics of modern celebrity. These included the spread of print media,

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Salmon, "'A Simulacrum of Power': Intimacy and Abstraction in the Rhetoric of the New Journalism", in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 28.

urbanisation, the creation of large, popular audiences and the rise of commodity culture. Certain figures were always considered newsworthy and newspapers and magazines followed their careers. These included nationalist revolutionaries such as Garibaldi in Italy and Kossuth in Hungary, actors and singers, but also a number of criminals, whose lives became famed.<sup>4</sup>

The criminal celebrity was already established in print culture before the emergence of the *IPN*. From the 1690s highwaymen literature emerged, with these crime stories focusing on the highway robber. This focus upon criminal individuals increased during the eighteenth century, with the publication of crime stories by people like Daniel Defoe and printer John Applebee.<sup>5</sup> John Beattie has argued that from the 1720s, these fictional representations were replaced with ‘more authentic reports of offenders and trials’ in Sessions Papers, Ordinaries’ Accounts and newspapers.<sup>6</sup> Criminal individuals were also visible in a number of texts including, *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, the *Ordinary of Newgate’s Account*, the *Select Trials*, and the *Newgate Calendar*. Early newspapers would follow the activities of Jonathan Wild, Jack Sheppard, and Dick Turpin in minute detail. However, Heather Shore has noted that from the early nineteenth century criminal histories of individuals other than those found guilty of murder were less popular.<sup>7</sup> She argued that without the culminating terror of the noose, narratives of highwaymen, pickpockets, thieves, and receivers of stolen goods did not have the same attraction as criminals whose story ended up on the gallows.<sup>8</sup> Rosalind Crone also noted that from 1820 there was a new preoccupation with narratives of extreme interpersonal violence, in which murderers predominated within the criminal

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<sup>4</sup> Laurel Brake, ‘The Old Journalism and the New: Forms of Cultural Production in London in the 1880s’, in *Papers for the Millions*, ed. by Wiener, pp. 1–24.

<sup>5</sup> P. Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street* (London: Methuen & Co, 1980); P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> John Beattie, *Policing and Punishment, 1660–1750: Urban Crime and the Limits of Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> Heather Shore, *London’s Criminal Underworlds, c. 1720 – c. 1930: A Social and Cultural History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Heather Shore, *London’s Criminal Underworlds, c. 1720 – c. 1930: A Social and Cultural History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 13.

genre. Crone and V.A.C. Gatrell have suggested that the dismantling of the Bloody Code and the subsequent decline in the number of executions led to an increased interest in both execution and interpersonal violence, as attention was focused upon fewer cases.<sup>9</sup> Despite the taming of popular literature of crime – in particular the genres dependent upon middle-class patronage – between the eighteenth and nineteenth century, there was a continuation of a culture in which both high and low participated. Actual hangings continued to be regarded as a form of entertainment and figures of infamous murderers and their victims were cast in wax.<sup>10</sup>

The purpose of these criminal narratives and the focus upon criminal celebrities has been studied by a number of historians and social theorists. Lincoln B. Faller suggested that there were two different narratives in eighteenth-century pamphlet literature. First, there was the ‘familial murder’, which described the prisoner’s fall from grace, the crime, the sorrow and the regret. By smoothing over the disruptive effects of his or her behaviour, the pamphlets were intended to reintegrate the offender into society. The second type of pamphlet refused to acknowledge any social threat posed by the offender, typically presenting the tale of a picaresque rogue, the romantic highwayman.<sup>11</sup> Rosalind Crone’s study of nineteenth-century violent entertainments suggested that the biographies of criminal felons had several functions. On one level they were cautionary tales, designed to deter audiences from the path of temptation and crime. However, on another level they provided entertainment, with pamphlets and multivolume biographies offering sensational stories designed to amuse and entertain readers.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), p. 95; V.A.C Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree*, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012),

<sup>11</sup> L.B.Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 193.

<sup>12</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), pp. 76-7.

The *IPN* corresponded with many of the nineteenth-century narratives of criminal celebrities outlined above. In keeping with the genre of nineteenth-century criminal literature, the individuals that received the most newspaper coverage in the *IPN* had been accused of murder. As the previous chapter demonstrated, murder was the subject most likely to be illustrated. Murder was a crucial feature of celebrity status, in particular if the offender was likely to be executed. There were a few notable exceptions, including Roger Tichborne, the alleged missing heir to the Tichborne baronetcy, but these cases were exceptional, involving large amounts of mystery and mistaken identity. Whilst the nineteenth century saw the recorded homicide rate decline, generally hovering at around 1.5 per 100,000, and falling to no more than 1 per 100,000 at the end of the 1880s, the lowest point in history, it continued to dominate the reporting of the *IPN*.<sup>13</sup> However, with a growing separation and distancing from execution and the display of bodily punishment in the twentieth century, these criminal celebrities were unlikely to receive the same attention.

In addition to the type of crime and punishment, a number of other factors resulted in the increased focus upon certain criminals, including the identity of the accused and the victim, in particular their class, age, and gender. Particularly sensational or mysterious crimes were also likely to receive more intense coverage. The narratives surrounding these criminal celebrities and their notorious crimes were usually structured in the same way. This structure has briefly been highlighted in the chapter on illustrations, and drew on earlier broadside traditions, focusing on three central elements:

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<sup>13</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900*, (London: Pearson, 1987), fourth edition 2010, p. 44.

1. Crime: The narratives would begin by focusing on the discovery of the crime and the capture of the criminal. These narratives would often use sensational language, describing the violence used and bloody discoveries in graphic detail.
2. Justice: Reporting from the trial could be extensive. Witness statements were often printed verbatim, helping to give extra credibility to the narratives of crime being produced, and where there were key pieces of written evidence, such as letters or confessions, these were also printed, further emphasising the veracity of the story. However, whilst accuracy was important, the accounts of the *IPN* intended to be entertaining and interesting to readers and the *IPN* added extra interest to these reports, which included asides of things which happened in court, and taking an active interest in the character of these criminals. This supports Daniel Vyleta's study of the construction of Jewish criminality in the Austrian press (1895-1915), which showed the centrality of the trial in newspaper reporting. He argued that the reports allowed readers to experience the drama of the courtroom at first hand.<sup>14</sup>
3. Punishment: Finally the narratives would typically conclude with the punishment of the alleged criminal. This was primarily the execution of the offender, but accounts could also conclude with updates of the prisoner's life in gaol. Written and illustrated reports tended to focus upon the crowds waiting for the black flag to be hoisted, or waiting to see the prisoner transported to his or her punishment.

Formulaic references to the intense public interest in the case predominated, and in the weeks when there was no news or event from that week to report, the *IPN* sought, where possible, to maintain interest in the infamous murder by printing updates and additional stories. During the nineteenth century the reporting of these most infamous crimes would also be accompanied by a spin-off publication. Printed by George Purkess junior, and advertised in the newspaper, these penny publications were usually available either

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<sup>14</sup> Daniel M. Vyleta, *Crime, Jews, and News: Vienna 1895-1914* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 77.

immediately after the discovery of the crime or at key stages in the narrative, for instance following the trial or after the execution of the accused. These mementoes of high-profile crimes continued to be printed and advertised in the *IPN* until the 1890s, until their decline following the death of George Purkess in 1892. The spin-off publications had much in common with the broadside tradition. Henry Mayhew's interviews in the 1850s revealed that in the case of a particularly notorious murder, a 'book' consisting of four or eight pages was released for sale after the execution. These books were popular as they formed a durable record of the account, and one hawker recalled 'people who loves reading likes to keep a good account of them; and so when I've sold Manning's bills, I've often shoved off Rush's books'.<sup>15</sup> In addition to offering a continuation of the broadside tradition, this practice of printing and advertising books alongside these news reports echoed the practice of earlier newspaper editors. Edward Lloyd, proprietor of *Lloyd's Weekly News*, similarly published, marketed, and distributed cheap books to compete with illustrations for those trials that encouraged great interest and were long enough to generate substantial amounts of text (readers wrote to the newspaper requesting further details about these books in 1849).<sup>16</sup> Echoing Edward Lloyd's journey from printer to newspaper editor, George Purkess also began to advertise his spin-off publications alongside issues and books of cheap fiction, meaning that like *Lloyd's Weekly News* the *IPN* blurred the line between news and entertainment even further. There were two types of spin-off publication advertised in the newspaper, drawing heavily on the traditions of eighteenth-century pamphlet literature identified by Lincoln Faller.

The first type of pamphlet drew heavily on the news reports printed in the newspaper, directly lifting reports and illustrations outside of the newspaper. They tended to contain a

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<sup>15</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Griffin, Bohn & CO., 1861-62), vol. 1, p. 220.

<sup>16</sup> Rosalind Crone, 'Crime, Courtrooms and the public sphere in Britain, 1700-1850' in David Lemmings ed. *Crime, Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1700-1850* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 214.

serious depiction of the felon's fall from grace, the crime, and the resulting sorrow – echoing the 'familial murder' pamphlets described by Faller. The influence of the broadside tradition upon these accounts can be seen in their titles, which echoed the broadside's focus upon the 'Life, Trial, and Execution' of a murderer.<sup>17</sup> The titles of a selected number of these publications include: 'The life and trial of the four prisoners connected with the Penge Murder' (1877); 'Todmorder Murder. Life, Trial, and Execution of Miles Wetherhill. With seven illustrations [including portraits]' (1868); 'The Alton Murder! The Police News edition of the life and examination of Frederick Baker'; 'The Life and Trial of Percy Lefroy, charged with the Brighton railway murder...the judge's summing-up, verdict, and sentence' (1881); and the 'Life, Trial, and Execution of Charles Peace'.

The second type of pamphlet produced by George Purkess was the 'romantic', or fictional accounts of the lives of criminals. Like the eighteenth-century pamphlets categorised by Lincoln Faller, these penny publications predominantly presented the reader with tales of a picaresque rogue who posed minimal social threat. These fictionalised accounts tended to depict the criminal in a more favourable light as their titles suggest: "Florence Maybrick: A Thrilling Romance" (1889) and "Charles Peace; or the Adventures of a notorious burglar. Founded in fact and profusely illustrated [with portraits]" (1880). The contrast between the romantic and factual spin-off publications can clearly be seen in the treatment of Charles Peace. Purkess produced two spin-off publications based upon the exploits of Peace: *The Bannercross Murder* (1878) and *Charles Peace, or the adventures of a notorious burglar* (1880). Both addressed the two different aspects of Peace's criminal career, his murder of Mr Dyson and his prolific career of numerous thefts. The romantic account of Peace's exploits focussed upon his larcenous rather than murderous

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<sup>17</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), p. 100.



achievements, with the serial publication eventually totalling 798 pages in length. The author boasted that Peace had a reputation ‘equal, if not superior, to the lawless ruffians, Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin and others of a similar class’, and frequently praised his ‘remarkable success in eluding the vigilance of the police’.<sup>18</sup>

In the four case studies outlined below this chapter will provide a more detailed understanding of formula described above, showing how the *IPN* created a criminal celebrity and how and why these formulas changed in the twentieth century.

### **Frederick Baker (1867)**

Frederick Baker was executed on Christmas Eve 1867 for the murder of eight-year-old Fanny Adams in Alton, Hampshire on the 24 August 1867. It is alleged that Baker coaxed the young girl away from her younger sister, Elizabeth, and friend, Minnie Warner, while they were playing in a field. He offered her a halfpenny and her two playmates three halfpennies to share, before carrying her to an adjacent hop field and mutilating her body. Following a search by neighbours, her body was found on the same day. Frederick Baker, a local solicitor, was arrested for the murder that evening. The inquest held on 27 August 1867 reported the conclusion of the post mortem that Fanny’s death was by blow to the head, and on the 29 August local magistrates committed Baker for trial at the Winchester Assizes. The *IPN* began the coverage of this case on 7 September 1867, and concluded on 28 December 1867, just after Baker’s execution on 24 December. The crime reporting featured in the newspaper was supplemented with a number of commemorative publications, printed by George Purkess junior, which included *The Life and Examination of Frederick Baker*, *The Trial of Frederick Baker the Murderer of Fanny Adams*, and *The Life Trial and Execution of Frederick Baker*.

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<sup>18</sup> *Charles Peace, or the Adventures of a Notorious Burglar, founded in fact and profusely illustrated* [with portraits] (London: G. Purkess, 1880).

The coverage of the murder and the focus upon Frederick Baker suggests there were a number of ways in which the newspaper could elevate an individual to celebrity status: first, was the intense focus upon the case, which can be measured through the amount of space devoted to reports; second the positioning of these reports in the newspaper; third, the content of these reports; and fourth was the publication of an additional spin-off publication by George Purkess, which continued to be advertised in the newspaper after the crime narrative had been completed. Table 4.1 shows the number of columns devoted to the reporting of the Alton Murder from its discovery in September until the execution of Frederick Baker on 24 December 1867. Whilst this appears a very small number of pages, it should be noted that during this period not only were there fewer pages, but material was also more densely packed into these columns. Moreover, every week in between these reports and for a number of months following his execution, Purkess included a number of advertisements for spin-off publications based on drama of the case, and so Frederick Baker remained a constant presence in the newspaper. As table 4.1 demonstrates, there were three main stages in the making of these nineteenth-century celebrity criminals, which is highlighted by the three newspaper editions that received the most coverage. The first was the discovery of the crime, the second was the trial, and the third was the punishment. In the case of Frederick Baker, the most attention was paid to his execution (28 December 1867), followed by his trial (14 December 1867), and finally the discovery of the crime last (7 September 1867). This shows an escalation of interest, with the coverage of the case increasing in response to growing public interest in the case.

**Table 4.1: Coverage of the Alton Murder by the *Illustrated Police News***

	<i>Columns</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Proportion of newspaper content (%)</i>
7 September 1867	2.66	11.08
14 September 1867	2.76	11.50
5 October 1867	0.4	1.67
14 December 1867	3.8	15.83
28 December 1867	6.9	28.75
<i>Total Columns</i>	<i>16.52</i>	
<i>Total pages</i>	<i>2.75</i>	

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup> 6 columns per page

These criminal celebrities were constructed through a combination of illustration and reporting. Illustrations, and in particular portraits of the criminal, were central to the making of these criminal celebrities. The reporting of the case began on 7 September 1867, when the newspaper printed front-page illustrations under the title ‘The barbarous murder at Alton’ (figure 4.1).<sup>19</sup> At the centre of this illustration was a wood engraving showing a full-length portrait of the prisoner, which was flanked either side by depictions of the discovery of the child’s severed head and the crowds mobbing the accused outside the prison. This illustration immediately placed Frederick Baker at the centre of the drama, and readers were presented with a further image of the accused in his prison cell at Winchester. It was only in the following week that readers were presented with a woodcut illustration of the victim, Fanny Adams, in addition to illustrations of the house in which she resided, and the lane where she met the criminal.

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<sup>19</sup> *The IPN*, 7 September 1867, p. 1.

# THE ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS. LAW-COURTS AND WEEKLY RECORD.

No. 186.]

[Established for  
the Proprietor.]

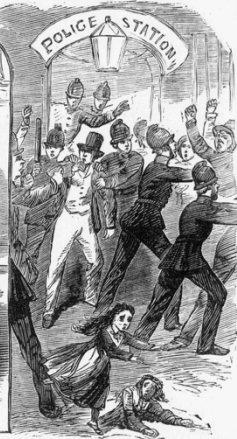
LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1867.

[Price One Penny.]

[Printed by  
the Proprietor.]

## THE BARBAROUS MURDER AT ALTON.

**A NIGHT ON SEA IN A LIFEBOAT.**  
We have already published some account of the discovery of the body of a woman in the sea, and of the circumstances attending the discovery. It is now known that the victim of the crime was a young girl, named Mary Ann, who was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat.



**THE BARBAROUS MURDER AT ALTON.**  
The murder of a young girl, named Mary Ann, who was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat.



**FINDING THE REMAINS OF FANNY ANN.**  
The remains of a young girl, named Mary Ann, who was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat.

**PRISONER MOVED UPON ENTERING WINCHESTER.**  
A prisoner, named Mary Ann, who was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat.

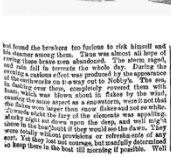
**THE BARBAROUS MURDER AT ALTON.**  
The murder of a young girl, named Mary Ann, who was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat. The girl was found floating in the sea, and was afterwards recovered by the crew of the lifeboat.



**THE BARBAROUS MURDER AT ALTON.**  
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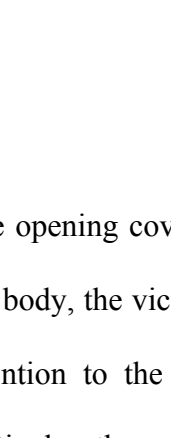
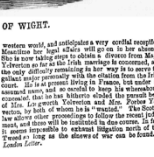
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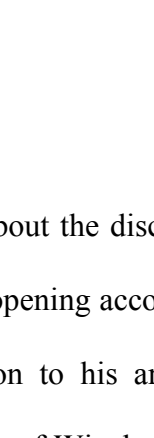


Figure 4.1: The IPN, 7 September 1867, p. 1.

The opening coverage of the case provided very little information about the discovery of the body, the victim, or the circumstances of her death. Instead, the opening account drew attention to the suspect, Frederick Baker, and the public's reaction to his arrest. In particular, the opening report described the crowds assembled outside of Winchester gaol,

which commenced ‘hooting and yelling...and throwing stones’ at the appearance of the cab containing Baker.<sup>20</sup> There was only a brief reference to the analytical tests being undertaken on the stains on the prisoner’s clothes and on the knives in his pocket, and a minor reference to Fanny Adams ‘an interesting looking child – whose melancholy fate has been deplored by thousands’.<sup>21</sup> Instead, the reports featured in the newspaper on 7 September and the 14 September focused almost entirely on the character of Frederick Baker, a ‘man of considerable intelligence’. Unlike reporting featured in *The Times*, which focused almost entirely upon witness statements and details of Frederick Baker’s arrest and information found in his diary, the *IPN* instead chose to print ‘a number of ridiculous tales’ told about the prisoner. A significant proportion of the report on the 14 September 1867 was given to details of Frederick Baker’s ‘gastronomic exploits’, and readers were provided with a number of stories about the ‘enormous eater’, who allegedly ‘consumed in rapid succession six six-penny worths of bread and cheese and ten glasses of bitter’, ‘ate every particle of three pounds of pork sausages in a ravenous fashion before they were half-cooked’, and could ‘at any time dispose of 3lb of beef steak without the slightest assistance’.<sup>22</sup>

Following the discovery of the crime, the next event to be reported by the newspaper was the trial. Unlike some newspaper coverage of trials, the reports of Frederick Baker’s trial did not include extensive reprinting of witness statements. Instead, there was summary of the facts of the case. The summary of the case used emotive language, describing the crime as an ‘unspeakable atrocity’ and reminding readers of the discovery of ‘poor Fanny Adams [who] had been killed and cut to pieces’.<sup>23</sup> There was a brief list of the evidence established in the court, including details of Minnie Warner’s identification of the prisoner,

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<sup>20</sup> *The IPN*, 7 September 1867, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *The IPN*, 14 September 1867, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> *The IPN*, 14 September 1867, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *The IPN*, 14 December 1867, p. 2.

and the witness statement of ‘a married woman’, perhaps adding further credibility. The second half of this account gave details of Frederick Baker’s character. The jury’s decision was not questioned in this account, and the report noted that ‘we do not suppose that any fault will be found with this conclusion, though the case was certainly, as the learned judge described it, a “most remarkable” one’.<sup>24</sup> Lastly, the reporting of the trial informed readers of the time and date of the execution in addition to the news that the Sheriff’s chaplain had visited Baker. According to the newspaper, the prisoner had shown ‘considerable emotion and was even moved to tears’, and it was hoped that Baker would make a full confession of his guilt, further echoing the narratives of the broadside print tradition.

The execution of Frederick Baker attracted the most attention in the coverage of the case. Printed in 1867, the newspaper coverage of this execution pre-dated the public abolition of execution in 1868. It allows us to compare the newspaper’s reporting of and attitudes towards criminals in both pre- and post abolition. The whole of the front page was dedicated to the depiction of the scene, a portrait of the executioner, and the prisoner being walked to the scaffold (figure 4.2). Depictions of the execution fitted a general formula, and presented readers with a number of messages. The illustration and written account showed a large number of spectators watching the execution. These crowds were shown to be orderly, and the illustration depicted the masses standing up straight and motionless, with the written account describing the five to six thousand people in the crowd who were ‘mostly well-behaved and orderly’, and appeared not to be of that ‘rough class, which generally predominate a London mob’.<sup>25</sup> The illustration of the execution gained the most space on the front of the paper – which suggests that the punishment of criminals and execution was still regarded as a profitable and thus popular story.

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<sup>24</sup> *The IPN*, 14 December 1867, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *The IPN*, 28 December 1867, p. 2.

The tone of the reporting was also moralising and the paper was both heavy in its criticism of the murderer but also in its criticism of the newspapers that had questioned the decision of the court. The newspaper noted that ‘since the condemnation of Baker one or two paragraphs have appeared intimating that the execution would be postponed, pending an enquiry as to the prisoner’s state of mind’. It went on to express its regret that ‘the press, or rather a proportion of it, should lend themselves to a knot of silly misguided persons who are always persistent in their endeavours to turn aside the sword of justice’.<sup>26</sup> The case of the Alton murder also ended with a warning to the government, who would ‘do well not to give ear to the officious busy-bodies, whose sole purpose in life seems to be...to display sympathy for guilty wretches like Baker’. In this same issue of this newspaper there was also a brief article reminding readers that there was an exhibit of Frederick Baker already installed at Madame Tussaud’s.

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<sup>26</sup> *The IPN*, 28 December 1867, p. 2.

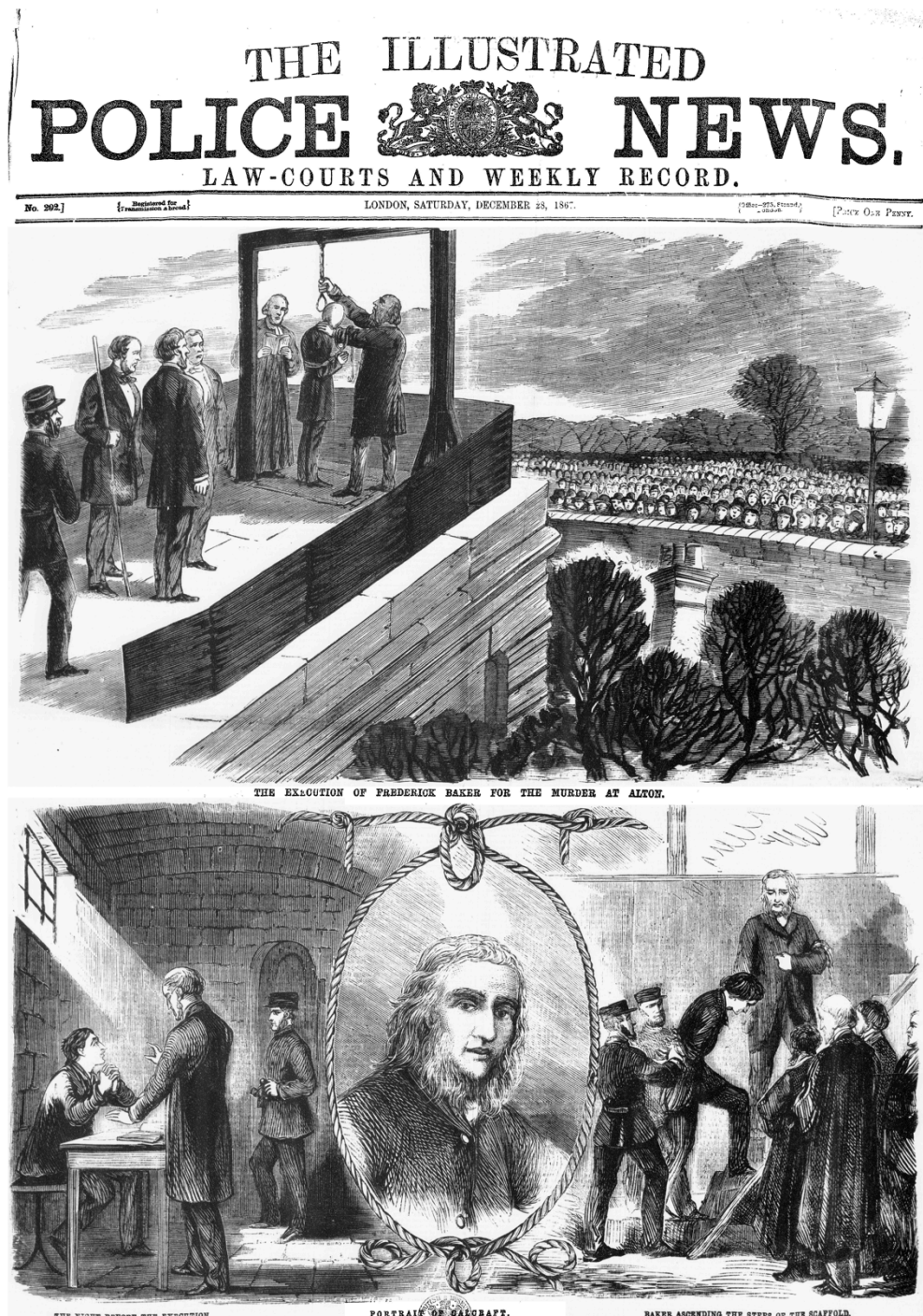


Figure 4.2: *The IPN*, 28 December 1867, p. 1.

Mirroring the way in which *Lloyd's Weekly News* reported celebrity murderers, the *IPN* sought, where possible, to maintain interest in the Alton murder in the periods of time between key events in the case.<sup>27</sup> In the weeks between the first reporting of the case on

<sup>27</sup> Rosalind Crone demonstrated how *Lloyd's Weekly News* used the techniques of penny installment fiction in order to maintain reader interest in the infamous crimes in the weeks when there was no new updates or



the 7 September 1867 and the coverage of the trial on 14 December 1867, the newspaper published some short articles, largely printed from other newspapers, speculating about the links between the prisoner and another murder. On 5 October 1867 a front-page article presented in more detail the claim of the *Law Times* that Frederick Baker was the real culprit for the murder for which James Longhurst had recently been executed. Whilst the *IPN* dismissed this claim based on a range of evidence, including Longhurst's identification, his possession of the murder instrument, and confession, this article allowed the newspaper to maintain reader interest in Frederick Baker and the Alton murder. There were also extensive advertisements printed every week for publications about Frederick Baker. The first advertisement was printed alongside the first week's coverage, offering readers the opportunity to purchase a sixteen page publication, 'The Life and Examination of Frederick Baker. Prisoner, and suspected murderer in this diabolical tragedy'. The advertisement promised readers a full description of his life and interesting particulars never before published.<sup>28</sup> In response to the updates in the case, after the trial and Baker's execution, readers were offered new publications to purchase. These publications arrived on the same date that the *IPN* printed new editorial coverage of the case, including the discovery of the murder (*The pamphlet of the Life and Examination of Frederick Baker*, 7 September 1867), the reporting of the trial (*The Alton Murder: The Trial of Frederick Baker*, 14 December 1867), and the execution of the accused (*Execution of Baker: Life, Trial and Execution of Frederick Baker*, 28 December 1867). Therefore, like the early Sunday newspapers, the *IPN* was able to incorporate the popular styles of both broadside tradition and penny instalment fiction. These spin-off publications clearly show the influence of Purkess Senior's previous publishing business.

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events to report. See Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), p. 238.

<sup>28</sup> *The IPN*, 7 September 1867, p. 2.

The messages and narratives used in the coverage of the Alton Murder suggest that the function of the criminal celebrity was more than just entertainment. More than simply satisfying the Victorian interest in character, these accounts also provided readers with an insight into the routes into crime. All the accounts repeat that Frederick Baker possessed ‘considerable intelligence’, his religious instruction by ‘good parents’, and that until four years ago he was ‘a very steady and pious man’.<sup>29</sup> They all note that he had not given any indication of insanity, instead pointing towards his ‘drunkenness and vices’, which led him to become ‘utterly reckless’ and to never ‘have the least regard either for character or appearances’. Both the newspaper and the spin-off publication likened Baker to an animal frequently. The *IPN* drew parallels between his acts and the ‘natural instincts of the tiger’ and other ‘beasts of prey’, with the pamphlet boldly stating that the murder and mutilation at Alton put into the shade ‘the most ferocious acts of the lower animals’. The spin-off publication sought to draw moral lessons from the case, with the final page reminding readers ‘we have an instance of what, perhaps, may be called the madness of badness, when vile and frightful passions, by long encouragement, win the upper hand, and sweep sense, self-government, and wit away together, in a torrent of Satanic impulse’.<sup>30</sup>

### **Florence Maybrick (1889)**

Over twenty years after the execution of Frederick Baker, James Maybrick died under suspicious circumstances at his home near Liverpool on 11 May 1889. Florence Maybrick, his young American wife, was suspected of poisoning him to death, although the only real evidence against her was a presumption of motive and her purchase of fly-paper from the chemist a couple of weeks previously. The court found her guilty of murder and sentenced her to death. However, there was an outpour of public emotion and sympathy for

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<sup>29</sup> *The Police News Edition of the life and Examination of Frederick Baker* (Illustrated Police News 275, Strand), p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *The Police News Edition of the life and Examination of Frederick Baker* (Illustrated Police News 275, Strand), p. 16.

Maybrick, culminating in half a million people signing petitions to the Home Office, urging her reprieve.<sup>31</sup> Her death sentence was reduced to life imprisonment, and whilst the court tried to suggest this had nothing to do with public support for Maybrick, the public outcry obviously wielded some influence.

Table 4.2 shows the number of columns devoted to coverage of the case. It illustrates that the formula of reporting used for Florence Maybrick's case differed slightly from that of Frederick Baker. Florence Maybrick had her death sentence reprieved and so unlike the majority of criminal celebrities she was imprisoned rather than executed. This resulted in a different focus at the end of the reporting. Instead of the reporting building to the execution of the criminal and the final restoration of justice, the main focus of reporting surrounding Florence Maybrick's case changed. Maybrick's trial received the most printed coverage, with 36.25 per cent of the entire newspaper devoted to reporting about the trial of Florence Maybrick on 17 August 1889. After the reporting of the verdict, coverage of the case and interest in Florence Maybrick slowly declined over a period of five weeks when readers continued to be provided with more information about her life in prison. The coverage of this case was extensive, with the overall number of pages devoted to the reporting almost four times as large as that given to Frederick Baker. This was the result of a number of factors – firstly, the increasing use of large front-page illustrations, which replaced the early front-page template of smaller illustrations surrounded by text. Second, the size of the typeface used by the newspaper had increased, meaning that coverage was spread over more columns. Third, newspaper coverage of the case was spread over more weeks, partly a result of the different punishment given to Maybrick, but also a result of more regular updates in the case.

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<sup>31</sup> Richard Altick, *Victorian Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria* (London: W W Norton & Company, 1970), p.257.

**Table 4.2: Coverage of Florence Maybrick in the *Illustrated Police News* – columns and proportion of newspaper (%)**

	<i>Columns<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Proportion of newspaper (%)</i>
1 June 1889	2.5	10.42
8 June 1889	6.5	27.08
15 June 1889	1	4.17
22 June 1889	3.4	14.17
29 June 1889	1.04	4.33
3 August 1889	0.6	2.50
10 August 1889	7.9	32.92
17 August 1889	8.7	36.25
24 August 1889	3.8	15.83
31 August 1889	3.8	15.83
7 September 1889	3.5	14.58
14 September 1889	4.45	18.54
9 November 1889	1.5	6.25
<i>Columns</i>	<i>48.69</i>	
<i>Pages</i>	<i>8.12</i>	

<sup>a</sup> Columns per page: 6

Coverage of the trial was extensive and thorough, and more detailed than that provided for the trial of Frederick Baker. The written account of the scenes from the Liverpool Assizes occupied over six columns, spread across two weeks. The first week covered the evidence presented in court, whilst the following week gave details of the verdict and sentence. The newspaper reprinted many of the witness statements verbatim, including letters between Florence Maybrick and the man she was accused of having an affair with, Mr Brierley. These letters were printed in full; a device used to show readers that the evidence printed was as accurate as possible. Alongside this evidence, various witness statements, including statements from medical experts, were detailed at length. The technique of printing long witness statements echoed the reporting style of early popular newspapers such as *Lloyd's Weekly News*.<sup>32</sup> Despite this detail, the narrative printed by the newspaper allowed readers to feel as though they were in the courtroom. At the opening of the report containing the guilty verdict, the 'astonishment' of the court was described, as was the

<sup>32</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 235.

noise in the court that had resulted from ‘the intense feeling which the verdict had evoked’.<sup>33</sup>

Following the verdict, the newspaper continued to provide readers with details about Florence Maybrick’s reprieve and life in prison over four consecutive weeks. The newspaper’s reporting of Florence Maybrick’s reprieve sought to tie up all the loose ends and neatly finish the story’s narrative, which was usually achieved through the reporting of the execution. Under the Latin subheading ‘exeunt omnes’, meaning all actors leave the stage and further highlighting the drama and theatricality of the case, the newspaper reported that all actors in the Maybrick drama had left Liverpool. Mr Brierley had departed for America, Mrs Maybrick was in gaol and due to be transferred to a London prison, and the victim’s brothers and children had all left Liverpool, meaning that the normal state of affairs been returned to the city. More importantly, justice had been restored, and the newspaper informed readers that ‘public opinion, as represented by the Press and those engaged in business affairs, is pretty nearly unanimous that the decision Mr Matthews has arrived at is a just one’.<sup>34</sup>

Coverage of the ‘Liverpool Tragedy’ showed how the newspaper sought to maintain interest in the case during the weeks in which there was no news or events to report. In the gap between the inquiry and the trial the newspaper worked hard to maintain interest in the case with illustrations and reports. This included a front-page illustration printed on 29 June 1889 (figure 4.3), which showed an itinerant singer performing ‘doggerel lines on the “Maybrick tragedy”’. The accompanying report printed inside the newspaper told readers about the popularity of this ‘peripatetic trader’, who had disposed of the whole of his wares. Such a report, whilst showing the continued popularity of old print forms and

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<sup>33</sup> *The IPN*, 17 August 1889, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 31 August 1889, p. 2.

ballads, was also used to provide readers with the message that interest in the case was widespread, with the final lines of the report telling readers that ‘the above incident affords a striking proof of the all absorbing interest which is felt in the Maybrick case on “Change”’.<sup>35</sup> Other items used to maintain interest in the case and further suggest public interest in the case included the inclusion of an item in the Police Intelligence section, which gave details of a ‘Quarrel over the Maybrick Case’ heard at Marylebone Police Court. According to the report, the ‘prosecutor and another entered into an animated discussion on the merits of the finding of the jury against Mrs Maybrick’. The prisoner had allegedly interfered in the discussion and lost his temper.<sup>36</sup>



**Figure 4.3: *The IPN*, 29 June 1889, p. 1.**

As established through analysis of the coverage of Frederick Baker and the Alton murder, another crucial element in the making of a criminal celebrity was the production of a spin-off publication, printed by George Purkess, and advertised in the pages of the *IPN*.

<sup>35</sup> *The IPN*, 29 June 1889, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> *The IPN*, 14 August 1889, p. 3.

Because of the different nature of the crime, and the newspaper's sympathetic attitude towards Florence Maybrick, the structure and content of the spin-off publication printed by George Purkess was different to that published about Frederick Baker. Whilst the various publications printed in response to the murder of Fanny Adams had lifted almost the entire content – both reports and illustrations - directly from the pages of the newspaper, the spin-off publication printed to commemorate the 'Liverpool Tragedy' was a 'romantic' and fictional account of the suspected woman's life. The pamphlet titled, *Guilty or not guilty? A thrilling romance of real life*, was written in a similar format and style to the fictional penny publications printed by George Purkess Senior. The prologue offered some facts of the case, largely lifted from newspaper reports, but the rest of the pamphlet was dedicated to a story, written in chapters, describing the life and fictional experiences of Florence. The opening 'facts' presented in the prologue appear to question the guilt of Maybrick, providing a sympathetic introduction to the 'young, comely, and dignified' woman, whose 'culture air of grace and refinement' could scarcely be associated with such a crime.<sup>37</sup> Beyond this prologue, the story did not resemble any of the information or evidence presented in the newspaper's reporting, but continually sought to highlight the naivety and innocence of Florence. During the story Florence borrowed some paper from her friend Ida to write to her husband, accidentally picking up flypaper rather than writing paper. Upon discovering her error, her friend Ida joked 'if your lover should prove troublesome, or your husband old or irksome, a few drops of the solution from those papers in his food should soon relieve you of his encumbrance'.<sup>38</sup> However, Florence was shocked at his revelation and 'little dreamed how fearfully prophetic her companion's words would prove'.<sup>39</sup> This story offered a fictional ending which did not match the reality of the case, with Florence's husband Jasper (his name had been changed in this publication) retracting his initial accusation on his death bed, telling his cousin that

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<sup>37</sup> *Florence Maybrick. A thrilling romance* (London: G. Purkess, 1889), p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

he was convinced that 'Florence is a pure and virtuous woman'.<sup>40</sup> The innocence of Florence was further suggested in the pamphlet's use of illustration. The front age portrait highlighted her respectability, both in her clothing and her pose. Her 'large, eloquent eyes', which were remarked upon in the written accounts were depicted in the illustration, and she oozed 'grace and refinement'.<sup>41</sup> This fictional account throughout suggested Florence's innocence, and the supernatural role played by the gypsy in forecasting the terrible events added another layer of entertainment to these narratives.

The *IPN* drew upon many existing nineteenth-century stereotypes of crime and criminality in its representation of Florence Maybrick. Although men were three times more likely to commit murder than women, the women who did so were far more likely than men to choose poison as their weapon.<sup>42</sup> Poisoning was the only category of spouse murder for which more women were convicted than men between 1840 and the end of the century.<sup>43</sup> Martin Wiener noted that despite being more likely to be convicted for the crime, a woman was less likely to be executed. Every single man found guilty of poisoning his wife (and no one else) from 1840 to the end of the century (thirteen in number) was hanged, compared with only six of the eighteen women similarly convicted.<sup>44</sup> Florence Maybrick was one of the two thirds of women who were convicted, but escaped the scaffold. She fitted the profile of the typical profile of the female poisoner identified by Katherine Watson. Her research has shown that the relationships between Victorian poisoners and victims were tied to established gender roles. Women mainly poisoned those people for whose care they were primarily responsible, typically husbands and children, usually acting in response to personal slights or rejections. However, men were less likely to

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Katherine Watson, *Poisoned Lives: English Poisoners and their Victims* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), p. 45.

<sup>43</sup> Martin Wiener, *Men of Flood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), p. 130.

<sup>44</sup> Martin Wiener, *Men of Flood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), p. 130.



poison family members, instead poisoning to settle scores and motivated by work, self-esteem and financial considerations.<sup>45</sup>

In keeping with other representations of Florence Maybrick in the press, the *IPN* was sympathetic to the plight of Mrs Maybrick, and the ‘tragic and sad story’. Throughout the newspaper’s reporting of the death and subsequent trial, Florence was portrayed as a lady and her guilt was never acknowledged. Whilst those who had committed particularly violent murders or murders with base motives were vilified (such as Frederick Baker above), press and public reaction could be more understanding to cases such as this. The alleged motives and methods of the killer, alongside the ‘character’ of the accused and the victim were crucial in determining such responses.<sup>46</sup> The sympathetic response to Maybrick was almost inevitably linked to her gender, but also to her class and supposed status, since the newspaper stressed that she was a French-Canadian of aristocratic birth, and recipient of an inheritance of 1,200 pounds a year.<sup>47</sup> Illustrations accompanying both the first report (figure 4.4) and her reprieve (figure 4.5) showed Florence laid in bed looking feeble and weak and being attended upon by a nurse and doctor. This image of Florence as an innocent victim and true lady persisted as the case unfolded despite revelations, which she confirmed to be true, of her affair with a Mr Brierley. Reports from the trial described her as displaying ‘wonderful nerve...all through the trial’, and her demeanour was noted as ‘afresh with the air of dignity’.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Katherine Watson, *Poisoned Lives: English Poisoners and their Victims* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), p. 48-49.

<sup>46</sup> John Carter Wood, “The Most Remarkable Woman in England”: *Poison, Celebrity and the Trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 82.

<sup>47</sup> *The IPN*, 25 May 1889, p. 4; *The IPN* 1 June 1889, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 17 August 1889, p. 2.



Figure 4.4: *The IPN*, 1 June 1889, p. 1.

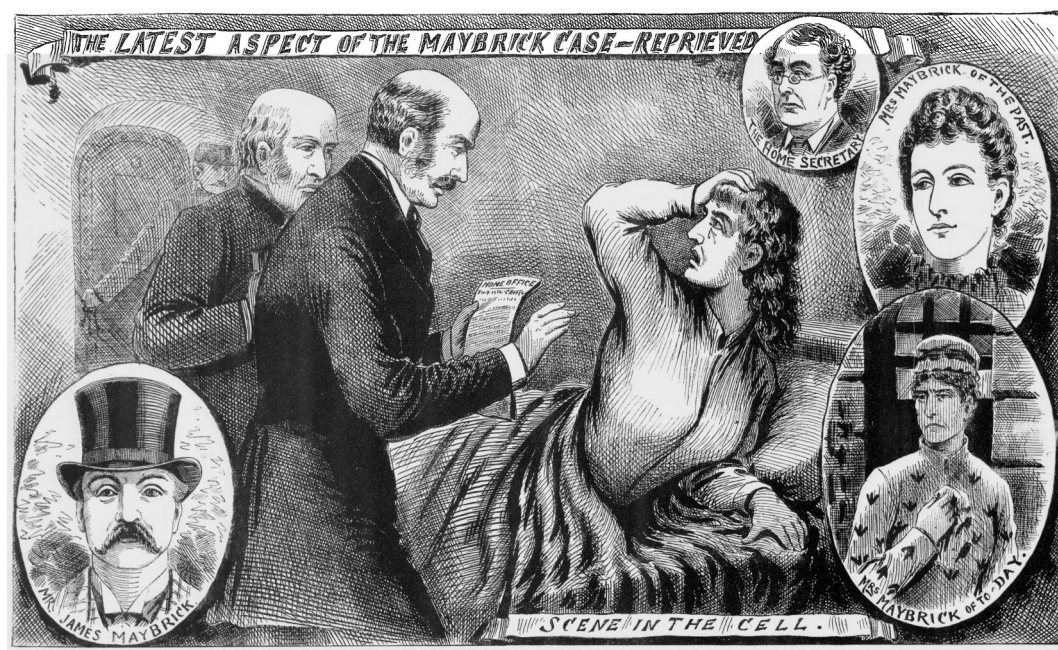


Figure 4.5: *The IPN*, 31 August 1889, p. 1.

Although there were some differences in reporting, the coverage of Florence Maybrick in 1889 largely followed the same format employed by the newspaper in its coverage of Frederick Baker in 1867. This included initial descriptions of the discovery of the murder, the intense coverage of the trial, and the publication of a spin-off publication, which continued to be advertised in the newspaper after the trial and conclusion of the case. However, owing to Florence Maybrick's reprieve, the absence of an execution meant that the reporting lost its grand finale. This different ending, in addition to the *IPN*'s sympathetic attitude to Mrs Maybrick, meant that the spin-off publication was a more fictionalised and romantic account of Mrs Maybrick's life, in contrast with the publication to commemorate the life, trial and execution of Frederick Baker. Despite this changed content, the primary purpose of these reports and spin-offs remained the same, to entertain readers and encourage purchasers.

### **Thomas Allaway and the Bournemouth Murder (1922)**

On 23 December 1921 the body of Miss Irene Wilkins was discovered in a field on the outskirts of Bournemouth. The circumstances of her death were unknown and it took a four-month search to locate her murderer and solve the mystery of her death. There was a certain amount of interest in the case, as the only known facts were that the day prior to the discovery of her body Miss Wilkins had placed an advertisement seeking a cook in the *Morning Post*. The very same day she received a telegram requesting that she come to Bournemouth at once, where she would be met. The only other clue was the discovery of tyre tracks on the road near where the body was discovered. These tracks matched Dunlop Magnum tyres, leading all drivers and chauffeurs in the area to be questioned. One of those questioned was Thomas Allaway, a thirty-six year old chauffeur and ex-soldier, who drove a Mercedes fitted with Dunlop Magnum tyres. Four months later Allaway attempted to pass some forged cheques. He disappeared from Bournemouth and was later discovered and arrested by the police in Reading. In his pockets were some betting slips with writing

that matched the writing on the telegram sent to Miss Wilkins. Other samples of Allaway's handwriting fixed him as the sender of the telegrams, and a Post Office employee confirmed his identity. This resulted in Allaway's trial at Winchester in July 1922, where he was quickly found guilty of murder. Thomas Henry Allaway was hanged at Winchester Prison on 19 August 1922.

Table 4.3 shows the number of columns devoted to coverage of the case. The coverage of this murder was much smaller than the two previous case studies analysed, with only two events – the trial and the execution of Allaway – receiving newspaper coverage. The coverage of these events also occupied a much smaller proportion of the total newspaper content. Unlike the previous two cases, the *IPN* did not provide readers with weekly serial instalments in between the events, and nor did it continue the practice of printing and advertising spin-off publications. It is possible that Allaway received less attention than the previous criminal celebrities analysed because for a long time his identity was unknown and there was a large gap between the murder and the trial. However, even after his arrest, Allaway received less coverage than his nineteenth-century criminal counterparts. It seems more likely that by 1922 the way in which the *IPN* covered famous crimes and criminals had changed. Coverage of the nineteenth-century criminal celebrities was largely influenced by the traditions from the broadside trade and the publishing business of George Purkess junior. When the newspaper stopped selling penny publications and George Purkess was no longer the proprietor of the newspaper, the representation of these criminal celebrities changed.

Despite these changes, there were a number of important continuities, particularly in the representation of the trial, and some of the narratives of crime. The main focus of the reporting was coverage of the trial of Thomas Henry Allaway. There were a number of important continuities in the images and narratives presented to readers. On 13 July 1922

the whole of the front page was given to the ‘Last Scenes of the Bournemouth trial’ (figure 4.6). Illustrations of these various scenes echoed the narratives used in nineteenth-century depictions of trials, including portraits of the accused and his wife, and the depiction of the court room scene with an on looking jury and judge, showing justice being enacted. There is also an illustration of the condemned man in his cell, and his brother’s dramatic reaction to the verdict. These scenes still invited the reader to actively participate in the drama of the trial, and were exciting and dramatic, without threatening order or security.



Figure 4.6: The IPN, 13 July 1922, p.1



**Table 4.3: Coverage of Thomas Henry Allaway in the *Illustrated Police News* – columns and proportion of newspaper (%)**

	<i>Columns</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Proportion of newspaper (%)</i>
13 July 1922	5	15.63
24 August 1922	0.25	0.78
<i>Columns</i>	5.25	
<i>Pages</i>	1.31	

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup> 4 columns of text per page

Unlike the execution of nineteenth-century criminals, the *IPN* barely covered the execution of Thomas Henry Allaway. As has been established in the previous chapter, the spectacle of the British execution had largely been removed from the *IPN*'s illustrations in the 1920s. This removal of execution from the *IPN*'s illustrations was echoed in the newspaper's reporting of Allaway's execution. Not only was there no wood-engraving of the scene, but the written account also failed to mention the crowds waiting to see the black flag hoisted. There was just a quarter of a column (0.78 per cent of total newspaper content) devoted to the reporting of Allaway's execution and crucially no woodcut illustration of the scene, in contrast with the coverage of Frederick Baker's execution, which totalled 6.9 columns and nearly a third of the entire newspaper content (28.75 per cent of total newspaper content). Because it was the 'culminating terror of the noose' that had previously created and sustained interest in the *IPN*'s criminal celebrities, the declining importance of British executions would have resulted in a declining interest in these criminal celebrities. Without the final spectacle, readers would have less of a vested interest in the trial.

### Beatrice Pace (1928)

According to the work of John Carter Wood, the trial of ‘Mrs Pace’ was one of the biggest stories of 1928.<sup>49</sup> This case centred on the death – and suspected murder – of Beatrice’s husband, Harry Pace, through arsenic poisoning. Investigations by police brought to light suggestions of extramarital affairs and hidden wealth, and although she was on trial for murder Mrs Pace was viewed as a victim. The case of Beatrice Pace offers the opportunity to compare and contrast how the reporting and representation of females poisoning their spouses had changed (or not) since the reporting of the Florence Maybrick case. Wood argues that newspaper readers, and in particular women, were able to project their own daily struggles onto the case. Wood has further shown how the drawn-out coroner’s inquest preceding the trial made Pace a celebrity. Following the coroner’s inquest, sightseers visited her cottage, and after her acquittal Beatrice sold her story to the press. In weekly instalments readers of the *Sunday Express* were provided with details of her childhood and marriage, her experiences at the trial and the new life she was seeking to build.<sup>50</sup>

However, the widespread press interest in Beatrice Pace was not replicated in the reporting featured in the *IPN*. As table 4.4 demonstrates, the only coverage of the Beatrice Pace case printed in the *IPN* centred on the acquittal of the accused woman. There was no coverage during the trial itself or during the build up to the trial, and in the weeks following her acquittal Pace disappeared entirely from the pages of the *IPN*. The coverage of this acquittal also constituted a much smaller proportion of the newspaper’s content than in cases during the nineteenth century. The coverage differed from the representation of the criminal celebrities during the late nineteenth century. Whilst still occupying a full page,

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<sup>49</sup> John Carter Wood, *‘The Most Remarkable Woman in England’: Poison, Celebrity and the trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: MUP, 2012).

<sup>50</sup> John Carter Wood, *‘The Most Remarkable Woman in England’: Poison, Celebrity and the trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), pp. 5-6



the illustration of Mrs Pace's acquittal was tucked inside the newspaper on page five, showing that the criminal celebrity was no longer used as a front-page selling device. Instead, the front-page of the *IPN* contained the illustration of a thrilling accident involving an acrobat artist (figure 4.6). For other newspapers, including the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror*, the acquittal of Mrs Pace was front-page news. On 7 July 1928 readers of the *Daily Express* were treated to a photograph of Mrs Pace returning home with her child (figure 4.7), while the front page of the *Daily Mirror* was devoted to complete coverage of the case, including large photographs of Mrs Pace, and the crowds outside Shire Hall (figure 4.8).

**Table 4.4: Coverage of Beatrice Pace in the *Illustrated Police News* – columns and proportion of newspaper (%)**

	<i>Columns</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>Proportion of newspaper (%)</i>
12 July 1928	4.8	15
<i>Columns</i>	4.8	
<i>Pages</i>	1.2	

*Notes:*

<sup>a</sup> 4 columns of text per page

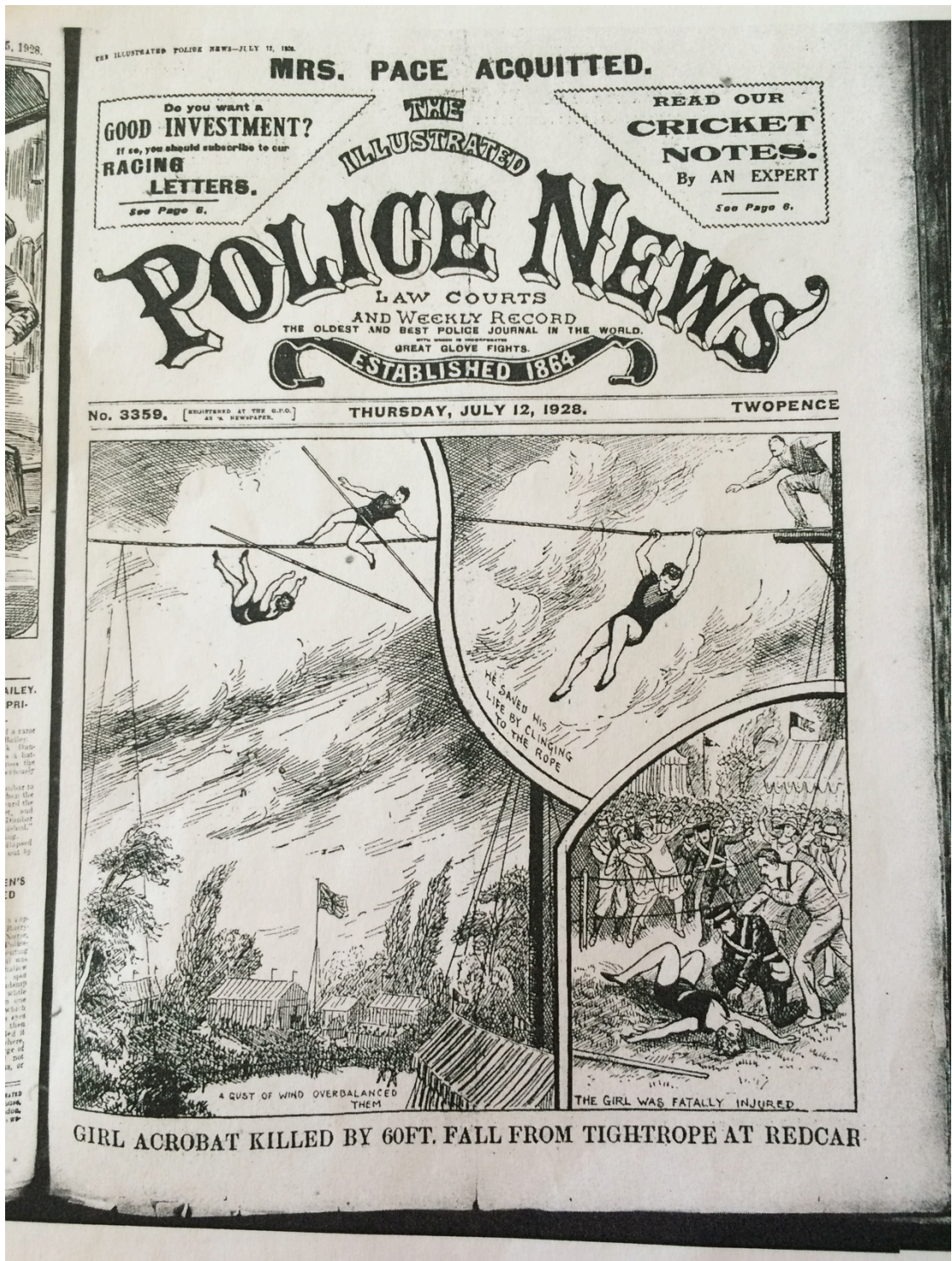


Figure 4.6: *The IPN*, 12 July 1928, p. 1.

**de KYPERS**  
Hollands  
Sleep well, wake fit

# Daily Express

TO-DAY'S WEATHER:  
Cloudy; mild.

NO. 8,796.

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1928.

ONE PENNY.

**CAPTURING WORLD MARKETS FOR BRITAIN!**  
The New **Hadfield** STEEL  
BUILT WITH  
FAMOUS  
SHEFFIELD  
STEELS  
5 SEATER SAFETY CAR NOW ONLY £295  
IN REGENT ST. SW. 1. TEL. 4800. BIRMINGHAM

## MRS. PACE RETURNS HOME IN TRIUMPH.

### TEARS OF JOY END WIDOW'S ORDEAL.

### JUDGE ORDERS HER ACQUITTAL.

### CHEERING MULTITUDES.

### PARLIAMENT TO DISCUSS THE CASE.

ONE of the most astonishing judicial dramas of recent years ended at Gloucester yesterday when, at the close of the case for the prosecution, Mr. Justice Hargrave directed the jury to return a verdict of "not guilty" in favour of Mrs. Beatrice Annie Pace, thirty-six years of age, who was accused of the murder of her husband by arsenical poisoning.

"I am of the opinion that it would not be safe to ask the jury to find a verdict of guilty on the evidence," said the judge.

#### SCENES OF CROWD ENTHUSIASM.

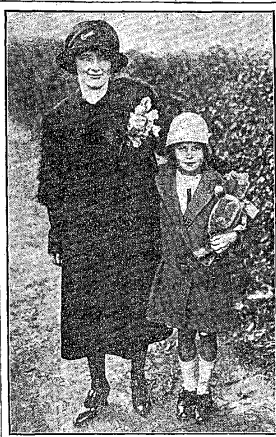
There were amazing scenes of enthusiasm outside the Shire Hall in Gloucester, where the trial was held, when the result was known. Cheering crowds awaited the woman who was arrested on May 22 after a coroner's jury had returned a verdict that her husband died on January 10 from arsenical poisoning administered by his wife.

The conduct of the coroner who held the inquest, Mr. Maurice F. Carter, and the methods of the police who investigated the affair are to be discussed in the House of Commons on Monday.

The inquest was adjourned on fourteen occasions. Yesterday was the fourth day of the trial.

### DRAMA OF THE HOMEWARD JOURNEY.

"Daily Express" Special Correspondent.  
GLOUCESTER, Friday.  
MRS. BEATRICE PACE is back in her home town to-day.



FREE.—Mrs. Pace with her little daughter, Dore, in a garden near her home at Cheltenham. Another picture on Page Nine.—"Daily Express" photograph.

### COMMONS AND PACE INQUEST.

### DEMAND FOR QUASHING OF MURDER VERDICT.

The method of conducting the trial for the defence is under question in the House of Commons.

### LOWENSTEIN: SECRET ILL-HEALTH.

### MILLIONAIRE'S HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE.

### OVER 200.

#### THEORY OF SUDDEN HEART ATTACK.

THE "Daily Express" is able today to state an important new fact with regard to M. Lowenstein, the millionaire, who fell from his airplane into the sea on Wednesday.

M. Lowenstein was liable to sudden heart attacks, owing to the fact that he suffered from entirely abnormal blood pressure.

This discovery has shed an important light on the extraordinary mystery—why did M. Lowenstein open the air plane exit door?

A leading medical man and internal specialist of St. Lawrence suggests that M. Lowenstein may have opened the door open to obtain air, following a seizure of a heart attack of any moment.

#### BLOOD PRESSURE.

M. Lowenstein's blood pressure was over 200, and his friend in a "Daily Express" representative last night said he was in this exceptionally high blood pressure he was exposed to the danger of a heart attack at any moment.

"The collar and tie were found in the airplane vicinity after his disappearance. This fact suggests that he had a heart attack, that he tore off his collar and tie to secure to breathe more freely, and, finding this relief insufficient, forced open the exit door of the airplane in order to obtain fresh air."

"The great ravages of forcing the door open against the wind may have caused him to become unconscious and thus he may have collapsed and fallen out."

The theory is borne out by the opinion of an eminent medical authority, "who stated that a blood pressure of 200 millimetres is unusually high."

"Normal people," he said, "have a pressure of 120. A pressure as high as 200 would be fatal in a few minutes."

### TENNIS TITLE CHANGES HANDS.

### LACOSTE WINS AT WIMBLEDON.

#### The men's singles championship was decided at Wimbledon yesterday.

Henri Cochet, of France, lost an expectedly easy match to the Frenchman, Lacoste. The score was 6-1, 4-6, 6-1, 4-6, 6-1. There was a surprisingly small attendance.

Cochet appeared to be playing below his form. He constantly hit into the net, and took a long time to find his length. Play on the whole was dull, and the spectators found little to applaud.

Lacoste played steadily and helped Cochet to beat himself. There has seldom been a championship so devoid of incident.

It was stated yesterday that Suzanne Lenglen, who has been suffering with neuritis, hopes to play in the women's singles final against Miss Helen Wills today, but a final decision will not be made until this morning.

The play is described on Page Nine.

#### REVOLVER TRAGEDY.

#### WIFE SHOT DEAD IN HUSBAND'S PRESENCE.

Mr. Minnithagen, wife of Colonel Minnithagen, was accidentally killed while at dinner with her husband yesterday in the grounds of Devon House, London.

Colonel and Mrs. Minnithagen were both recently from London, and returned yesterday via their favourite railway.

They had first supper round and the Minnithagen was sitting at the table when the tragedy occurred.

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The crowd outside the Shire Hall waiting to greet Mrs. Pace after her acquittal.

— "Daily Express" photograph.

Figure 4.8: Daily Express, 7 July 1928, p. 1.



THE DAILY MIRROR, Saturday, July 7, 1928.

**MRS. PACE NOT GUILTY: JUDGE STOPS THE CASE**

**BIGGEST DAILY PICTURE PAPER**

**Daily Mirror**

THE DAILY PICTURE PAPER WITH THE LARGEST NET SALE

**32 PAGES TO-DAY**

No. 7,690 Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1928 One Penny

**HUGE CROWD CHEERS ACQUITTAL OF MRS. PACE**



Some of the crowd of sympathisers who have cheered Mrs. Pace each day of her trial.

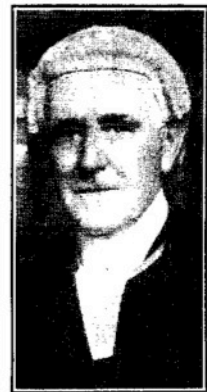
The news of the acquittal of Mrs. Pace at Gloucester yesterday was received with wild enthusiasm in court and by a large crowd which quickly gathered outside the Shire Hall. The end of the trial came unexpectedly early, but the tidings spread magically and the throng soon assumed huge proportions. There was loud cheering and women



Mrs. Pace, found not guilty of poisoning her husband, Harry Pace.



Mr. Norman Birkett, K.C., submitted there was no evidence of administration of arsenic by Mrs. Pace.



Mr. Justice Hurdridge, who advised the jury to return a verdict of Not guilty.

clasped one another's hands, while others wept. Inside the court Mrs. Pace shook hands with many delighted sympathisers, but afterwards collapsed. Hats were waved and cheering was renewed when she recovered and was taken by motor-car to her home at Coleford, where her children were waiting to greet her. See also page 32.

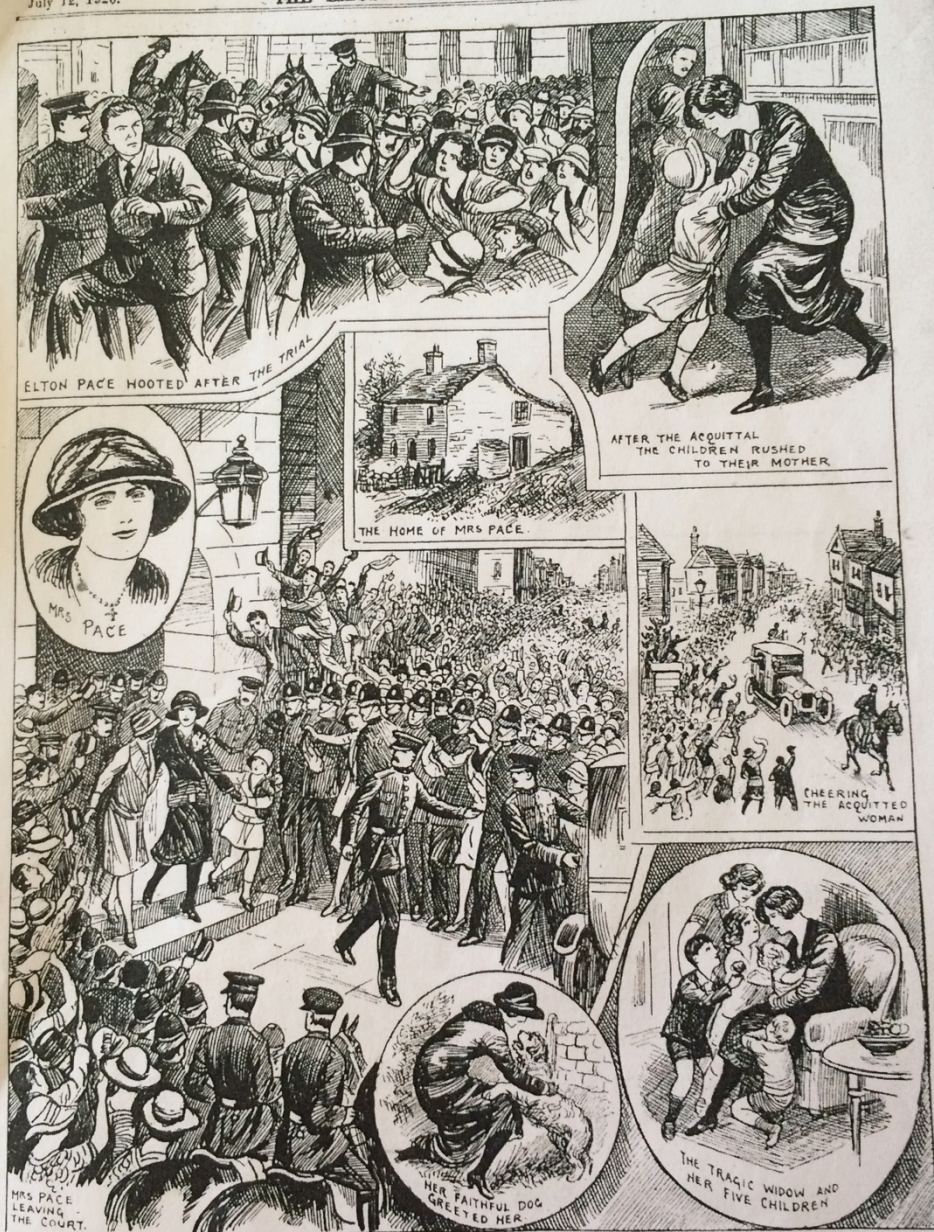
**Figure 4.9: *Daily Mirror*, 7 July 1928, p. 1.**

Popular newspapers were able to offer photographic images of the same scenes sketched in the *IPN*. The illustration of the scenes outside the courtroom depicted in the *IPN* on 12 July 1928 (figure 4.10) had already been presented to readers of the *Daily Express* on 7

July 1928 (figure 4.8 and 4.7) and across the whole front page of the *Daily Mirror* on 7 July 1928 (figure 4.9). These photographs offered readers a more realistic viewing experience of both the celebrity and the events following the trial. They were more effective than the woodcut illustrations, and allowed readers to feel as though they had actually witnessed the dramatic scenes outside Shire Hall following her acquittal. Not only were they more realistic, but these illustrations were also more immediate, available for readers the day after the acquittal, unlike the *IPN*, which was printed weekly rather than daily. The popularity of these daily papers had increased rapidly, so that by 1921 daily metropolitan newspapers had a circulation of nearly five and a half million.<sup>51</sup> The circulation of the *IPN* is not known for this time, although the decision to raise the price of the newspaper in 1917, in addition to the newspaper's reduction in size, suggested that the newspaper was undergoing financial difficulties and thus had a more limited readership. This meant that the *IPN* had neither the industry nor the audience to elevate Mrs Pace to the previous celebrity status of some of the late nineteenth-century offenders.

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<sup>51</sup> T. Jeffery and K. McClelland, 'A word fit to live in: *The Daily Mail* and the middle classes, 1918-1939' in J. Curran, A. Smith, and P. Wingate (eds.), *Impacts and Influences: Essays on Media Power in the Twentieth Century* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 29.



REMARKABLE SCENES AFTER THE ACQUITTAL OF MRS. PACE.

Figure 4.10: *The IPN*, 12 July 1928

Daily newspapers provided the latest details from the trial, reprinting crucial testimonies, ‘sensational news disclosures’, and revelations of cruelty and passion.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, there was much less detail printed in the *IPN*, in contrast both with contemporary newspapers, but also with the *IPN*’s reporting of the Liverpool Tragedy and Florence Maybrick’s court appearance. These differences aside, there were some similarities in the pictorial and written narratives of the case. Despite its less prominent position, some of the narratives used in the wood-engravings remained the same (figure 4.6). These included the portrait of Mrs Pace and the depiction of her cottage, the scene of the domestic crime. Moreover, the illustration of the scenes outside the court, which showed the masses of spectators cheering and celebrating her acquittal, echoed earlier depictions of crowds celebrating the justice processes and punishment of the late nineteenth century. Similarly, the written narratives highlighted the extraordinary scenes of the cheering crowds, informing readers of the scene inside the courtroom upon the announcement of the verdict, when ‘men in the gallery waved their hats and women their handkerchiefs.’<sup>53</sup> This echoed the depictions of the courtroom scenes described in the daily press, which similarly noted the approval and applause of the audience upon the verdict. Despite receiving much less coverage than in the daily newspapers, the newspaper transmitted the same messages and attitudes towards crime. The newspaper presented Beatrice Pace sympathetically, reinforcing her image of domesticity through illustrations of her reunion with her children and dog, and descriptions of the ‘affecting scene’ as the mother ‘clasped’ her children.<sup>54</sup> There were also similarities between the sympathy displayed towards Beatrice Pace and that given to Florence Maybrick despite the fact these cases were nearly forty years apart.

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<sup>52</sup> John Carter Wood, *‘The Most Remarkable Woman in England’: Poison, Celebrity and the trials of Beatrice Pace* (Manchester: MUP, 2012), p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> *The IPN*, 12 July 1928, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *The IPN*, 12 July 1928, p. 5, p. 2.



### **Notable Crimes of the Past: Murders and Mysteries**

Whilst the serial reporting of crime news declined in the twentieth century, during the 1930s there emerged serial accounts of past crimes and criminals, featured under the title 'Notable Crimes of the Past: Murders and Mysteries'. These serial accounts focused upon the most notorious criminals of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Each week there would be a serial update, providing more information about the chosen case. These features occupied the whole of the fifth page of the newspaper, with a large woodcut image included alongside five columns of printed text. This constituted around 8 per cent of the entire content of the twelve-page newspaper.

Charles Peace and Dr Crippen unsurprisingly received considerable attention. The serial accounts followed the same narratives and structure employed in the original reporting of the cases, with a particular focus upon the trial, conviction, and punishment of these criminals. These serial historical accounts reprinted verbatim many of the reports featured in the newspaper at the time of the initial reporting. The serial account of 'The trial and Conviction of the Notorious Charles Peace', which featured in the 'Notable Crimes of the Past' on 10 September 1936, was drawn almost entirely from the reporting featured in the newspaper on the 15 February 1879. However, whilst reprinting almost word for word the previous report, the later historical account introduced new sub-headings, including 'Peace's Accusation of Perjury', 'A sketch of his career', 'Many Brixton Burglaries', and 'How Peace was identified'. These sub-headings drew attention to the most exciting aspects of the case and resulted in more white space and smaller, more digestible paragraphs, changes that have often been attributed to New Journalism. Therefore, whilst presenting the exact same written material, the *IPN* repackaged this material for twentieth-century readers, showing how it was able to incorporate both old and new.



The incorporation of these histories of ‘notable crimes’ of the past into the newspaper shows that serial reports and accounts of criminal celebrities still remained important, despite the decline of the criminal celebrity within the current news reporting. It highlights that whilst the newspaper underwent a number of changes, which included the decline in the serial representation of crime news and the weekly cartoon-strip style depictions of developments in famous cases, the newspaper continued many of its older print traditions. The focus of illustrations upon the trial and execution scenes not only offered a continuation of the same narratives and structure of reporting used in the original reports, but also provided further justification for the continuation of woodcut illustrations. The trial and execution were both scenes that could not be photographed, instead relying upon sketch drawings.

By looking back to past crimes and their punishments the newspaper was able to satisfy what it perceived to be reader interest in crime, sensation, and punishment, without offending the growing ambivalence about punishments such as execution. As shown in the previous chapter on illustrations, the image of the body in pain became increasingly intolerable and profane during the twentieth century, meaning that such representations of past crimes and punishments did not challenge or offend the idea of a civilised twentieth-century society.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, looking back to past crimes allowed the newspaper to relocate the violence and gore, without removing it completely from the newspaper. This once again supports the idea that the depiction of violence in the *IPN* was like a cultural amoeba – it was always present in the *IPN*, but its meaning and shape changed and was repackaged depending on external pressures – in this case the competition from daily newspapers with photographs and the declining representation of British executions in the *IPN*.

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<sup>55</sup> D. Garland, ‘The Problem of the Body in Modern Punishment’, *Social Research* 78 (2011): 767-98.

In the final years of the *IPN* when the newspaper was struggling to maintain readership, printing these histories of past famous criminals provided a cheap and quick way to plug a newshole. Since many of the details were reprinted or lifted from earlier reports, little work was required to compile these weekly stories. There were also clear financial motivations for the inclusion of these stories. Interest in the Charles Peace case was well established. The *IPN* continued to advertise a spin-off publication based on Charles Peace's exploits long after it ended advertising all other printed material, suggesting its economic viability and ability to sell newspapers. The newspaper knew what it did well and was attempting to satisfy reader interest.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that in the *IPN* the criminal celebrity flourished from the paper's emergence until the 1890s, before undergoing a period of decline. In contrast with the research of John Carter Wood, this chapter has shown that the 1920s did not mark the golden age of the criminal celebrity for the *IPN*. This demonstrates that whilst the historiography might suggest that the 1870s was as a turning point in newspaper history, there was more continuity than change in the way in which criminal celebrities were represented in the early years of the *IPN*. The *IPN* was strongly influenced by earlier forms of print culture, in particular the broadside tradition and serial penny publishing business. The narratives employed in the pictorial and written accounts of these notable criminals mirrored those used in the broadside press, with a focus upon the life, trial, and execution of these famous criminals.

The rise and decline of the criminal celebrity in the *IPN* can be explained using Tom Mole's definition of celebrity as 'a cultural apparatus consisting of three elements: an

individual, an industry and an audience'.<sup>56</sup> The criminal celebrity and the narratives used in nineteenth-century crime reporting disappeared in the 1920s case studies. However, the coverage Beatrice Pace in other daily newspapers suggests that there continued to be individuals worthy of 'criminal celebrity' status, in addition to a receptive audience eager to consume such stories. Rather, what had changed was the industry. Following the death of George Purkess in 1892, George Purkess' penny publications were no longer advertised in the newspaper and the practice of producing spin-off publications as mementoes of notable crimes ceased. Moreover, the *IPN* no longer employed a number of the popular styles used in penny installment fiction. The practice of providing readers with weekly updates of the case (even when there were no new events to report) in order to keep interested readers purchasing the newspaper also ceased in the twentieth century.

The construction of these criminal celebrities was closely linked with the potential execution that awaited them following the conclusion of the trial. This shows clearly the links between the nineteenth-century *IPN* and gallows literature, and explains in part why it was usually only individuals accused of murder that rose to celebrity status. When the representation of execution changed in the twentieth century, owing to increased sensibilities about the depiction of bodily pain, this had a knock-on effect upon the construction of the criminal celebrity. The nineteenth-century representations of criminal celebrities also appeared to have the same function as the broadsides, and eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century literature. These early narratives, in particular the case of Frederick Baker, operated as a cautionary tale, demonstrating the easy route to crime for a once respectable and temperate man.

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<sup>56</sup> Tom Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 1.

The editors of the *IPN* realised that the newspaper was unable to compete on the same terms as the newspaper industry, in particular the daily press with its photograph and daily update. In the inter-war period the sales of tabloid dailies rapidly increased. The *Daily Mail* was selling a million copies during the First World War, a figure that increased to 1.96 million by 1930. The *Daily Express* achieved a circulation of 500,000 in 1921, rising to 1.5 million in 1930.<sup>57</sup> By 1939 two-thirds of adults regularly read a daily newspaper, and in his 1936 survey of York Seeborn Rowntree included a daily newspaper as a 'human need' when calculating the poverty line.<sup>58</sup> As highlighted in the case study of Beatrice Pace, these daily newspapers were able to provide daily updates during sensational trials, rather than waiting a week to provide further updates.

Despite these changes, there were still important continuities. During the 1930s the newspaper introduced a column presenting readers with accounts of 'Notable Crimes of the Past', suggesting that there was still an appetite for serially published accounts of criminal celebrities. These weekly columns largely reprinted verbatim reports that had been previously printed in the *IPN*, reorganising them under new subheadings. These accounts used the same formula as earlier reports, focusing almost entirely on the trial, conviction, and punishment of these criminals. Therefore, looking back to past crimes allowed the newspaper to relocate the violence and gore, without removing it completely from the newspaper.

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<sup>57</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samanthan Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 117.

<sup>58</sup> Colin A. Linsley and Christine L. Linsley, 'Booth, Rowntree, and Llewelyn Smith: A Reassessment of Interwar Poverty', *The Economic History Review* 46 (1993), pp. 88-104, p. 96.



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## Police Court Reporting

As the previous chapters on illustration and criminal celebrities demonstrated, reports of trials were immensely popular in the nineteenth century, although the popularity of such reports declined throughout the twentieth century. However, in addition to the coverage of these sensational trials, the *Illustrated Police News (IPN)* printed regular columns of ‘criminal intelligence’ sometimes known as ‘police intelligence’ on a weekly basis, providing summaries of courtroom proceedings. The majority of ‘Criminal Intelligence’ provided extensive updates from the London Police Courts, although occasionally summaries from the Central Criminal Court and Middlesex Sessions could also be printed. Whilst there was occasionally coverage from these other criminal courts, this was printed less frequently and was more fragmentary than the Police Court reports. This was partly a result of the fact that unlike the Police Courts they were not constantly in session, but also because some of the more serious offences heard in these courts were more likely to be reported elsewhere within the newspaper. Consequently, this chapter will focus upon the police court report columns. The newspaper continued to print these columns into the twentieth century and right up until the newspaper ceased publication, suggesting their economic viability and popularity. This chapter will analyse the police court reports featured within the *IPN*, and what this demonstrates more broadly about how the newspaper represented the criminal justice system. It will provide a more nuanced understanding of how the newspaper was constructed, demonstrating the importance of the *IPN*’s template in determining the newspaper’s content. It will also analyse the messages transmitted about crime (specifically London crime) and justice and punishment, assessing whether these representations changed under certain pressures.

At the centre of the Victorian and early twentieth-century criminal justice system stood the courts of law, which played a key role establishing and maintaining the legitimacy of the criminal justice system.<sup>1</sup> During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there were three kinds of courts at which criminals might be tried: the Magistrates' Court, the Quarter Sessions and the Assizes (or Central Criminal Court). The Magistrates' Court, often known as the petty sessions or police courts, was the first court that a person accused of crime would normally be brought before. If the alleged crime was indictable, the magistrate would conduct an initial hearing to determine whether the accused should be committed for trial. If the offence was summary, then the magistrates could try the case themselves.<sup>2</sup> The nineteenth century witnessed an expansion of this summary justice. Jervis's Acts, passed in 1848, established stricter procedures for preliminary hearings and consolidated existing legislation on summary jurisdiction. During the mid-century approximately 100,000 cases were decided annually in the police courts, and by the 1850s there were 13 police courts in metropolitan London with 23 professional magistrates.<sup>3</sup> In 1855 the Criminal Justice Act and Juvenile Offenders Act expanded the work of the summary courts, allowing the magistrate to convict and punish specific felonies, including small theft and embezzlement of goods to the value of less than 5 shillings. An 1879 Act expanded this further, raising the value of stolen or embezzled goods for which offenders might be brought before summary courts from 5s to £2. The latter decades of the nineteenth century saw further expansion of summary justice. An 1899 Act stipulated that all offences committed by juveniles (with the exception of murder) as well most adult offences, should be tried summarily. By 1900 over 98 per cent of all criminal trials were summary and 80 per cent of all indictable offences were dealt with summarily.<sup>4</sup> The total number of non-indictable offences prosecuted continued to climb, and the average number

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<sup>1</sup> David Taylor, *Hooligans, Harlots, and Hangman: Crime and Punishment in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Praeger, 2010), p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> David Bentley, *English Justice in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue 2, 309-335, pp. 311-12.

<sup>4</sup> G. G. Alexander, *The Administration of Criminal Justice* (Cambridge: 1915), pp. 202-3.

of non-indictable offences between 1892 and 1896 was almost double that between 1857 and 1861.<sup>5</sup>

Whilst historians have examined these lower courts, studies of the crime reporting have largely focused upon the higher courts because that is where the most sensational and prominent trials have been heard.<sup>6</sup> However, there have been a number of recent studies that have sought to fill this void, including Susan Broomhall and David Barrie's extensive study of police courts in nineteenth-century Scotland, and Drew Gray's study of the summary courts of London in the late eighteenth century. The work of the police courts has been described by Susan Broomhall and David Barrie as 'multi-faceted'. They provided a fast, efficient, and cheap form of justice for property offences, which were the most common crimes prosecuted after assault/breach of the peace. The courts expanded the civic elite's idea of the 'safe, secure and healthy cityscape' by administering justice against those deemed guilty of breaching cleansing and public health laws. Despite the 'multi-faceted' work of these courts, their primary role was to impose discipline on and try to control the behaviour of a predominantly working-class clientele. This did not mean that the police court was merely a one-dimensional class tool. Jennifer Davis' study of London police courts in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrated that a number of working class individuals attended court in order to obtain warrants and summonses to initiate their own proceedings. Moreover, working-class individuals could use courts as a source of advice, charity, and adjudication. Davis strongly argued that the

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<sup>5</sup> Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 262.

<sup>6</sup> There has been a vast output of research concerning the Old Bailey, including: Martin J. Wiener "Alice Arden to Bill Sikes: Changing Nightmares of Intimate Homicide in England, 1558-1869." *Journal of British Studies* (2001); The Sad Story of George Hall: Adultery, Murder and the Politics of Mercy in Mid-Victorian England." *Social History* May (1999.) Peter King, 'Making crime news: newspapers, violent crime and the selective reporting of Old Bailey trials in the late eighteenth century', *Crime, History and Societies* 13 (2009), pp. 91-116; Shoemaker, R. B. The Street Robber and the Gentleman Highwayman: Changing Representations and Perceptions of Robbery in London, 1690-1800. *Cultural and Social History*, 3:4 (2006).



purpose of police courts was not only to suppress law breaking, but also to win lower-class acceptance of the law, and in turn the social order.<sup>7</sup>

Police court reporting became a regular feature of nearly all newspapers from the establishment of London Police Courts in the 1790s. The popularity of such police court reports was realised by the popular press, beginning with the radical press, including *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette* (1834) and Hetherington's *Twopenny Dispatch* (1834), newspapers which successfully combined radicalism with a liberal inclusion of police court reporting and other criminal cases, either historical or contemporary, to ensure weekly circulations of around 30,000 during the mid-1830s.<sup>8</sup> This combination of radicalism and scandal was developed by the weekly newspapers, such as the *News of the World* (1843), the *Weekly Times* (1847) and Lloyd's papers, including the *Penny Sunday Times* (1840) the *People's Police Gazette* (1841) and the *Illustrated London Newspaper* (1842 – later issued as *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*).<sup>9</sup> The press performed a key role in creating knowledge about police courts and the assessment of their efficiency and success in controlling urban crime. Given the centrality of the police courts in distributing justice and punishment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there have been relatively few academic studies of the depiction of the daily business of the court in the press. In his study of street disorder in the Victorian town, Andy Croll noted that scholars need to know more about the 'criteria employed in the composition of the reports of the proceedings in the local police reports', as the messages that were contained were not only a form of popular entertainment but also an important means by which power, control and discipline

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<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue 2, 309-335, pp. 312, 313, 315.

<sup>8</sup> Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1970), pp. 121-24.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Williams, 'Radical and/or respectable' in Richard Boston, ed., *The Press we Deserve*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 20-21.

was exerted over individuals, communities, and spaces.<sup>10</sup> The patterns of court reporting have been analysed by some eighteenth-century historians, including Esther Snell and Peter King. They found that this multi-vocal and sporadic style of reporting created a kaleidoscope of different and often contradictory messages about, for instance, the prevalence of crime, the effectiveness of policing, and the quality of justice distributed by the courts.<sup>11</sup> Rosalind Crone's study of newspaper accounts of court proceedings showed that new mass-circulation Sunday weeklies founded in the 1840s devoted around ten per cent of its space to accounts of trials, which included regular proceedings in London police courts. Unlike the eighteenth-century court reporting identified by Snell and King, Crone found that the 'neat packaging' of regular summary trial accounts made verdicts seem quite unproblematic. Alongside accounts of more serious trials and proceedings from the Old Bailey, these police court reports were packaged for entertainment value, while also providing an image of the justice system as a reassuring symbol of stability.<sup>12</sup>

Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson and Samantha Pegg's *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* provided an overview of the way in which newspaper crime news changed over nearly two centuries. Instead of entertainment, they argue that before the emergence of 'New Journalism' the main function of these courts was the education of ordinary people about the application of the law, rather than entertainment. They contend that from the 1860s lawyers often wrote newspaper court reports anonymously. This ensured that the public remained relatively well informed about the legal system, and in turn the press coverage raised the prestige of the legal

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<sup>10</sup> Andy Croll, 'Street disorder, surveillance and shame. Regulating behavior in the public spaces of the late Victorian town', *Social History* 24 (October 1999), pp 250-268.

<sup>11</sup> Peter King, 'Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century London', *Continuity and Change* 22 (1), 2007, 73-112, p. 76. See also Esther Snell, "Changing Discourses of Crime: Representations of Criminality in the Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Press", *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 22, Issue 01, May 2007, 13-47 for a discussion of a similar reporting style in the *Kentish Post*.

<sup>12</sup> Rosalind Crone, 'Publishing courtroom drama for the masses, 1820-1855' in David Lemmings ed. *Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1730-1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 193-216.

system. However, in addition to the move away from anonymity, the rise of ‘New Journalism’, which prioritised profits over than ideas, and the increased focus upon scientific forms of detection, created a gap between lawyers and journalists in the early decades of the twentieth century. The loss of legal expertise meant that court reporting became less informed, with sensational details often replacing legal context and procedure. This meant that in the period between 1900 and 1914 everyday crime stories were rarely presented as headline news and were ‘often presented as gossip news, lacking in detail and substance, than as ‘crime intelligence’’.<sup>13</sup> Whilst an interesting way of approaching and considering the changes in court reporting, many of the assertions of Rowbotham, Stevenson and Pegg are unsupported by the memoirs of lawyer journalists, and their methodology is unclear. They appear to have cherry picked their reports to support their case and there is no content analysis of newspapers. Therefore this chapter will seek to readdress these gaps, analysing in detail if and how the representation of the daily workings of the press changed in the *IPN* between 1867 and 1936.

## Method

This chapter will look at the content and style of police court reporting, in addition to the types of crime represented and the punishments distributed by the police court, in order to assess the role played by criminal intelligence in newspaper and the messages this provided readers about crime, justice and punishment. Firstly, the chapter identifies how much of the newspaper was given to such reports, and whether there was a decline in police court reporting during the twentieth century, as identified by Jennifer Davis and historians of the twentieth-century press. Although reports from police courts continued to be printed in the local press, Rowbotham et al stated that by 1913 even *The Times* had

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<sup>13</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 109.

abandoned regular, daily updates from the course in favour of a short selection of cases.<sup>14</sup>

There is a systematic sampling of the police court reporting, with the newspaper sampled at six-year intervals, every March and September, spanning a period of 69 years from 1867 to 1933. The number of reports was counted, in addition to the number of columns devoted to police court reporting, and the proportion of the newspaper devoted to reporting in order to take account for the changing size and format of the newspaper. The chapter will then move onto a case study of the types of crimes reported, and the messages this provided readers about urban working-class crime. This will begin with a quantitative study, using the sample six-year sampling method outlined above. The specific types of crimes reported were counted, in order to demonstrate the crimes most likely to be reported to readers. These crimes were categorised according to the following categories:

- Property: including housebreaking, larceny from the person, theft and embezzlement.
- Interpersonal violence: including threats of violence, common assaults, offences against police constables, manslaughter, murder, suicide.
- Deception: including obtaining money by false pretences, fraud, coining.
- Misdemeanours: including drunk and disorderly behaviour, begging, gambling, neglecting to maintain family, offences against the highway act, immoral earnings.
- Other: including the use of the courts as a source of advice or money, settling non-criminal disputes.

Where an individual was charged with a number of offences, the most serious offence listed was logged.

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<sup>14</sup> Judith Rowbothan, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 102.

A quantitative analysis of the punishments distributed by the magistrate in these police court reports was also undertaken on the same sample. The punishments were categorised according to the following categories:

- Discharged: if the case was dismissed or discharged.
- Remanded or committed for trial: if the accused was either remanded for further information, or committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court.
- Fined: The reports often reported that the accused had been order to pay a fine or in default imprisonment. Where there was no record of difficulties paying the fine, a fine was logged.
- Imprisoned: any form of imprisonment, including hard labour.
- Other: adjourned, bound over to keep the peace, surety to keep the peace, sent to workhouse, non-criminal outcomes including being given money out of the poor box, verdicts on landlord notices, maintenance orders, separation orders, orders to go to school.

Where a number of individuals were charged with the same offence, the most serious punishment was logged.

A qualitative content analysis of the reports was also undertaken to give a more nuanced understanding of the messages about crime, punishment and the justice process that was disseminated to readers. This analysis studied the narratives and language employed by the reports. In particular, it will seek to assess whether the First World War had a defining impact upon the reports from the Police Court, since it had a substantial impact upon the more sensational depictions of crime elsewhere in the newspaper, in particular in the content of crime illustration and in the proportion of sensational news stories.

### **The proportion of the newspaper given to police court reports**

Police Intelligence remained a regular and important feature throughout the publishing life of the *IPN*. Whilst the early twentieth century saw the *IPN* undergo a series of structural changes, police intelligence continued to feature regularly in the newspaper. This continued presence in the newspaper suggests the popularity and demand for these reports. Despite its continuity within the newspaper, the proportion of space allocated to the Police Intelligence reports fluctuated. Table 5.1 illustrates the number of police court reports included in the newspaper, in addition to the average number of columns devoted to the reporting of Police Intelligence in each weekly edition. The proportion of the newspaper devoted to such reports was calculated to demonstrate change over time when the number of pages and columns per page changed. The table demonstrates that there were three key periods of continuity: 1867-1879, 1885-1915, 1921-1933.

**Table 5.1: Proportion of space allocated to Police Intelligence**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Ave no. of columns</i>	<i>% of space in IPN</i>	<i>Total number of reports</i>
<i>Mar 1867</i>	3.97	16.5	85
<i>Sept 1867</i>	3.71	15.5	82
<i>Mar 1873</i>	2.83	11.8	78
<i>Sept 1873</i>	2.19	9.1	58
<i>Mar 1879</i>	2.02	8.4	79
<i>Sept 1879</i>	1.75	7.3	39
<i>Mar 1885</i>	0.83	3.5	32
<i>Sept 1885</i>	0.97	4.1	33
<i>Mar 1892</i>	0.97	4.1	36
<i>Sept 1892</i>	1	4.2	36
<i>Mar 1897</i>	2.15	5.4	47
<i>Sept 1897</i>	1.92	4	29
<i>March 1903</i>	1.85	2.9	24
<i>Sept 1903</i>	1.86	2.9	30
<i>March 1909</i>	2.2	3.4	28
<i>Sept 1909</i>	2.1	3.3	29
<i>March 1915</i>	2.05	3.2	30
<i>Sept 1915</i>	2.28	3.6	37
<i>March 1921</i>	1.66	5.2	34
<i>Sept 1921</i>	2.11	6.6	38
<i>March 1927</i>	2.26	7.1	47
<i>Sept 1927</i>	2.43	7.6	47
<i>March 1933</i>	2.18	6.8	50
<i>Sept 1933</i>	2.24	7	36

Table 5.1 shows that in the newspaper's early years of publication (between 1867 and March 1879) there was an increased number of police reports printed and the proportion of newspaper content devoted to police court reporting was much larger, with the average amount of space devoted to police court reports as much as 16.5 per cent in March 1867. Figure 5.1 shows an edition of the *IPN* from 1867. It shows that in the early years of publication the newspaper's pages were densely populated with reports from the courts, with little white space and few gaps between the reports. The increased presence of police court reporting during these early years demonstrates the influence of earlier forms of print culture upon the *IPN*, in particular the radical press and the weekly newspapers such as the *News of the World*, the *Weekly Times*, and *Lloyd's Weekly News*. From 1885 the proportion of the *IPN* devoted to these police court reports declined markedly, despite the increasing number of offences being prosecuted summarily. By March 1885 the space allocated to police court reports was less than a quarter of that allocated in March 1867, and around half the number of reports printed. Between 19 July 1890 and 27 September 1890 there was no coverage from the police courts whatsoever. However, after just over two months absence police court reporting returned and remained relatively constant between 1885 and 1915.



## LAW INTELLIGENCE

**COUNT OF QUEEN'S BENCH.**

© HUGH W. WYMAN. (Afternoon Session in 2 before Mr. Justice Lush.)—This was an action for compensation for injuries sustained by the plaintiff, a woman, while riding on the road which the plaintiff was driving. The defendant, entered under the Board of Works, to construct a sewer along the road. The work was completed in 1912, and the accident happened in 1912. The plaintiff, who was a widow, was the sole breadwinner of the family. The plaintiff was injured while driving on the road which the defendant was constructing. The plaintiff was injured while driving on the road which the defendant was constructing. The plaintiff was injured while driving on the road which the defendant was constructing.

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Journalism'. Reports which may have previously been situated within the discrete 'Police Intelligence' column, could now be found within main reports in the newspaper, under their own headings, such as 'Alleged Drunkenness in a Signal Box', or 'Adventure of two boys', cases which were heard at the West Ham and Woolwich Police Courts respectively.<sup>1</sup> These accounts, which were initially brief and numerous, became longer, although fewer in number. Descriptions in these became much fuller, and instead of briefly sketching out the details, there was substantial quoting from the magistrate, and in addition to providing details of the punishment. Not only was there an increasing amount of white space and the font size increased – reports were no longer squashed together in order to squeeze as much detail in as possible – but the subheadings also changed.

By March 1892 instead of being organised under the specific locations of the police courts, the reports were organised underneath exciting subheadings, with the purpose of enticing and exciting readers. A sample of such headings within the *IPN* on 12 March 1892 included 'Violent Beggars', 'A Filthy Act', 'A Sad Position', 'Juvenile Thieves and Elderly Receivers'.<sup>2</sup> These headings sought to excite, attract human interest, and set the tone of the reports, with sensational headings such as: 'Afraid to sleep for fear of murder', drawing readers in.<sup>3</sup> This was a brief experiment, and by 1897 the police intelligence returned to being organised under the names of the courts, although subheadings featured under these headings. This move towards sensational subheadings correlates with the shift in crime reportage noted by Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, and Samantha Pegg in their broad study of crime reporting in the British press. They note that from 1885 there was a shift towards incorporating sensationalism into crime reportage, and by 1900 the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 26 September 1885, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 12 March 1892, p. 3; other headings used to generate interest include, 'A Salvationist in trouble', 'The terror of Holloway', 'Very like a trap', 'A Queer Place for Pears', 'Drinking and Stealing', and 'Horse-whipping Clergyman', *The Illustrated Police News*, 27 September 1890, 27 August 1892.

<sup>3</sup> *The Illustrated Police News*, 19 March 1892, p. 3.

popular press was experimenting with layout and typography, and using content sub-division to highlight more clearly the human-interest stories.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these changes, there was more continuity in police court reporting during this period than in other aspects of the newspaper. As chapter one demonstrated, during the First World War the proportion of the newspaper dedicated to the reporting of sensational crime declined markedly. However, even when the *IPN*'s overall crime content declined in favour of war coverage during the First World War, the proportion of the newspaper given to police intelligence remained relatively constant. In the sample year preceding the war the average content of the newspaper devoted to police court reports was 3.3 per cent (September 1909), declining slightly to 3.2 per cent in March 1915 before rising to 3.6 per cent in September 1915. This regular slot and consistency, even during the Great War, when tales from the war often replaced accounts of sensational crime as a major column-filler, suggests that police intelligence columns were not simply used as convenient way to fill a 'newshole'.<sup>5</sup> This continuity allowed readers to know where to find the police court reports, but also highlights how the content and reporting of the *IPN* was constructed to a template. This template - which was partly shaped by the mechanics of the newspaper's production, including the availabilities of narratives and the requirements of the physical space – was used to ensure the careful balance of different stories about crime.

After 1921 there was a slight increase in both the number of police reports printed and the space given to police court reporting in the *IPN*. This offers a contrast to the twentieth-century press in general, which Jennifer Davis describes as relatively ignoring the police

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<sup>4</sup> Judith Rowbothan, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.60, pp86-87.

<sup>5</sup> Peter King's study into eighteenth and nineteenth newspaper reporting found that war would was a major column-filler, and during war years law and order news played a less important role. For more detail see: 'Newspaper reporting and attitudes to crime and justice in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century London', *Continuity and Change*, 22(1), pp. 73–112, p. 83.

court.<sup>6</sup> According to Rowbothan, Stevenson and Pegg during this period ‘on the whole only provincial titles retained regular coverage of events in the magistrates’ courts, even in London’.<sup>7</sup> This demonstrates that older traditions of crime reporting continued to exist alongside the changing content of the *IPN*, which now included more white space, typography and layout changes, in addition to broader content, such as sporting intelligence. Figure 5.2 is a page of police court reporting from 2 March 1933, which demonstrates the existence of these older traditions alongside the influence of new changing layout and content of the newspaper.

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<sup>6</sup> Jennifer Davis, ‘A Poor Man’s System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue2, 309-335, p. 334.

<sup>7</sup> Judith Rowbothan, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.140.



Figure 5.2: *The Illustrated Police News*, 2 March 1933, p. 7.

The positioning of these regular ‘Police Intelligence’ columns remained relatively constant. While the *IPN* continued to be four pages in length, police court reports were always printed on page three. This continuity allowed readers to know where to find such reports, and its position on third page meant that the details of the goings on from these London courts would be the first thing which readers were presented with as soon as they

opened the newspaper. This mirrored the reporting of police intelligence in earlier popular newspapers, in particular Sunday newspapers, which placed criminal intelligence in regular columns on pages 3 and 12.<sup>8</sup> When the newspaper changed its size, the positioning of these police intelligence reports changed. When the newspaper increased to 8 pages in length in 1894, the reports could be found on page 7, when the newspaper increased to 12 pages in length reports could be found on pages 11, and finally when the *IPN* increased to 16 in 1903 pages reports could be found on page 12 and then page 14. When the *IPN* went back down to twelve pages in 1916 and then down to eight pages in 1918, the page that the Police Intelligence featured on also changed. After the war when the newspaper decreased in number of pages back down to eight pages, the police intelligence could always be found on the seventh page. This meant that when the newspaper had extended to more than four pages the police intelligence was nearly always located just inside the back cover of the newspaper. Like its early position inside the front cover, this location meant that the police intelligence was easily accessible for readers, further suggesting its continued importance throughout the entire publishing history of the *IPN*.

### **Content: what crimes were represented in the police court reports?**

Given the large number of offences prosecuted summarily, it is unsurprising that newspapers had to select the cases they chose to report.<sup>9</sup> When giving evidence to a select committee on pawnbroking trades, Sir Thomas Henry explained that in every ‘police court there are fifty to sixty cases in a day, and the reporters, perhaps, select the one case which would most likely interest the public’.<sup>10</sup> As a result of the absence of surviving records about the daily business of the police courts, it is very difficult to make claims about the selection process adopted by newspapers. However, Jennifer Davis has suggested in her

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<sup>8</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 243.

<sup>9</sup> Jennifer Davis, ‘A Poor Man’s System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue2, 309-335, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> Testimony of Sir Thomas Henry, *Select committee to inquire into the state of the law affecting pawnbroking trades* (Parl. papers 1870, VIII), q. 3600.

work on police courts during the late nineteenth century that the cases that newspapers chose to report had a strong element of ‘human interest’, and tended to reinforce popular stereotypes, such as the idea of the criminal, or the Irish immigrant.<sup>11</sup> She also suggests that these newspaper reports were selected to give readers the impression that crime did not pay. This idea will be explored in more detail in the following section on punishment.

As has been established in the introduction and chapter 1, the *IPN* had a reputation amongst both contemporaries and established researchers for being a sensational and marginal newspaper. Memories of the newspaper tended to focus upon the newspaper’s depiction of ‘the week’s most sensational crimes’ in graphic detail.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, as has been noted in chapter 3 on illustration, in many ways the newspaper’s reputation as ‘the finest piece of pictorial sensationalism’ was not entirely undeserved. When a courtroom scene was illustrated, readers were presented with dramatic and unusual occurrences, which usually took place during trials at the Old Bailey or the Assizes. Yet the offences reported in these police intelligence columns and the style of language in these reports lacked this sensation. Even when the sensational subtitles were briefly introduced, the content of the reports remained largely unchanged. Like the police court reports analysed by Rosalind Crone in her study of Sunday newspapers in the 1840s, the neat packaging of these regular summary trial accounts made the verdicts seem unproblematic. Table 5.2 (printed at end of the chapter) details the types of offences reported in the police court, providing both the number of reports and their proportion of police court reports, expressed as a percentage.

Table 5.2 (printed at end of chapter) demonstrates that like publications such as *Lloyd’s Weekly News* and the more respectable *The Times*, the *IPN*’s summaries of the police

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<sup>11</sup> Jennifer Davis, ‘A Poor Man’s System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue2, 309-335, p. 317.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Stammer, *So long ago* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p. 160; Edwin Muir, *The story and the fable: An autobiography* (London: G.G. Harrap, 1940), pp. 84-85.

courts covered a wide spread of offences, in addition to a small number of instances where applicants appeared before the magistrates to seek advice or apply for poor relief (categorised as ‘other’).<sup>13</sup> The cases most likely to be reported related to property offences (including robbery from the person, housebreaking, and theft from employers), interpersonal violence (in particular common assault) and a number of misdemeanours including drunk and disorderly behaviour, ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ and driving offences. Table 5.2 demonstrates that in some months more than half of all police court reports related to property crime (March 1867, March 1909, September 1909, March 1921, September 1921, March 1927) and in March 1933 over three quarters of all reports concerned property offences. The consistency in the proportion of police court reports devoted to the reporting of property crime suggests that the *IPN* did not attempt to sensationalise the types of crime covered in its police intelligence over time, and continued to focus on the same offences. By prioritising property crime, assault, and drunkenness, it is likely that these reports focused attention on cases which interested working class and middle-class readers and revealed the lives of the criminal and working classes, ignoring many of the mundane offences, such as traffic, footpath, or cleansing contraventions which perpetuated existing stereotypes about working-class crime.

The *Police Intelligence* also reported a diverse range of misdemeanours, including: keeping disorderly houses; being drunk and disorderly; and begging. The publication of reports about these crimes suggests a reader fascination with the darker side of urban life. It is possible that in addition to catering to an audience of London residents, these *Police Intelligence* reports could have also attracted a large provincial readership. These reports, all collected together might have acted as a guide to London low-life, or a window on what was happening in the metropolis. Table 5.2 demonstrates that the only point at which there was a reduction in the reporting of property offences was in the period between 1897 and

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<sup>13</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 228.



September 1903. This period coincided with an increased number of reports concerning misdemeanours, in particular, ‘neglecting to maintain one’s family’, ‘animal cruelty’, and betting and gambling offences. This reflected the greater concern for public order, morals and welfare at the end of the nineteenth century, identified by Martin Weiner.<sup>14</sup> The increased focus of reports upon misdemeanours further supports V.A.C. Gatrell’s assertion that as the century wore on the English judicial system came very near to as total a regulation of even petty – let alone serious - deviance as has ever been achieved.<sup>15</sup> The increased number of police court reports concerned with betting and gambling reflected the rise of mass betting and the accompanying social concern about this illegal, though popular, leisure pursuit. From the 1880s onwards older forms of gambling had been replaced by organised forms of mass betting, which only became possible when the distinction between ‘work’ and ‘leisure’ had become complete.<sup>16</sup> By the 1900s, gambling rivalled drink as a ‘national evil’ in the view of many social commentators.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to an increasing number of reports about these offences, there were a number of changes in the way these misdemeanours were represented in the press. After 1890 the NSPCC was more frequently cited as presenting neglect cases to court, particularly as twentieth century progressed. Such reports included ‘A Shocking Case’ where Mary Horton, 38 of Beaconsfield Building Islington was brought before Mr D Eynecourt, charged on remand, with neglecting her four children. Dr Hands gave evidence to visiting the woman’s room with an inspector of the NSPCC. Mr D’Eynecourt sentenced the prisoner to six months’ hard labour.’<sup>18</sup> The role of the NSPCC was cited in further cases in 1915, where they intervened in the instance of a house ‘Like a pig sty’<sup>19</sup> and the case of ‘A

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<sup>14</sup> Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 260-61.

<sup>15</sup> V.A.C. Gatrell, ‘The Decline of Theft and Violence in Victorian and Edwardian England’, in p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> Ross McKibbin, ‘Working Class Gambling in Britain, 1880-1939’, p.149, 168.

<sup>17</sup> B. S. Rowntree (ed.), *Betting and gambling: a national evil* (London: 1905)

<sup>18</sup> *The IPN*, 4 March 1915, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> *The IPN*, 1 March 1915, p. 14.

bad lot and a baby' where a nineteen year old was charged with neglecting to maintain her baby.<sup>20</sup> The evidence of the NSPCC could also be printed in these reports. A report printed in September 1915 noted that 'Mr Jenkins, who prosecuted for the NSPCC, stated that in addition to neglecting to provide proper food and clothing for her children, the prisoner had allowed a sister, a convicted thief and otherwise loose character, to live in the same room as the little ones, an act which of itself was an offence under section 58 of the Children Act.'<sup>21</sup> There was also a slight increase in the number of misdemeanours reported in the *IPN* during the First World War. This was the result of an increased number of reports about 'neglecting to maintain families' and deserters from the army. Deserting from the army was described as a serious offence, and the offenders were viewed unfavourably. This was highlighted in a number of the subheadings, which boldly stated 'A Serious Offence', and 'A Poor Defence'.<sup>22</sup>

Offences concerning interpersonal violence, which included threats of violence, manslaughter, common assault, assaults against police constables, murder, and suicide, did not dominate the police court reporting as might be expected. While interpersonal violence accounted for a significant proportion of police court reports, the depiction of these offences was less consistent. In the twentieth century the number of reports relating to interpersonal violence fluctuated, suggesting it was not an essential ingredient of all police court reporting. In addition to the number of other offences, a large number of those accused on violence in police court reports were often from working-class backgrounds, providing readers with the impression that urban crime was committed by the poorer classes, whose behaviour was in need of regulation.

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<sup>20</sup> *The IPN*, 16 September 1915, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *The IPN*, 25 March 1915, p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *The IPN*, 18 March 1915, p. 14.

Whilst the war did not have an impact upon the types of crime reported, it did have an impact upon the language used within these reports and the effects of war upon the home front were frequently referenced. These police court reports demonstrated the effect of the war in five key areas: the rise of deserters; fraud; neglect to maintain one's family; the Defence of the Realm Act; and lastly, soldier brutality. At the centre of all these reports was the honour of the army and the national war effort, and so any offence that brought 'Disgrace to the Army' was viewed particularly unfavourably. This was especially the case when offenders fraudulently presented themselves as war heroes. One report even printed that the magistrate had told the offender that 'he was a thief, a liar, a malingerer, and a disgrace to the Army. He had no right at all to wear the King's uniform'.<sup>23</sup>

There was a slight increase in the number of deception cases reported during the First World War. Individuals using fraudulent stories and posing as injured war heroes in order to obtain money by false pretences were also represented unfavourably in these police court reports. Such reports were featured under bold subheadings such as 'Bogus Hero', or 'Serious Offence', and included a man who said he had been injured in France in order to steal a suit and obtain money and lodgings by false pretences, and a twenty five year old sergeant in the Machine Gun Section of the 3-10<sup>th</sup> London Regiment, who was charged on remand with obtaining a motorcycle by false pretences.<sup>24</sup> This man had used his bravery and alleged status in the army in order to acquire a discount at the dealership, where he arrived wearing a D.C.M ribbon and two coloured stripes on his arm above his sergeant's stripes. He told the witness he had been 'requested to purchase a motorcycle on behalf of the Government, and asked the witness if he would accept a Government cheque'.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, women who were negating their duties as mothers or who obtained money fraudulently whilst their husbands were at the front were also depicted unfavourably. One

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<sup>23</sup> *The IPN*, 18 March 1915, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> *The IPN*, 25 March 1915, p. 14; *The IPN*, 16 September 1915, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> *The IPN*, 16 September 1915, p. 14.

subheading referred to 'A Deplorable Case', where a soldier's home had been 'neglected in his absence'. The newspaper report noted that 'the mother had completely failed to exercise proper guardianship and had been leading an immoral life', despite the fact that the 'Soldier and Sailors Families' Association' had 'furnished two rooms for the woman'. However, according to the newspaper she had 'sold the furniture and left nothing in the house but an old flock bed and a piece of dry bread. The father during the whole time had been absent on military duty'.<sup>26</sup> Another reported referred to a 'Wicked Woman', who had stolen some bed clothing and a nightgown from Clapham Mothers' Union, associated with Clapham parish church. This was despite the fact that she was already in receipt of a war allowance of 30s weekly, in addition to a further 17s 6d a week which she received as her husband was billeted on her'.<sup>27</sup>

There were fewer references to soldier brutality than the other effects of war. One such example included the case of 'A Savage Assault' by soldiers upon another soldier, which was reported on 9 September 1915.<sup>28</sup> However, where such attacks were reported, newspaper accounts were keen to stress that the soldiers were deserters and that their behaviour was not a result of the brutalising effects of war, or typical of the army as a whole. This was evident in the reporting of the crimes of 'A Violent Rascal', William Wilson, a thirty two year old private in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Irish Guards who was charged with begging, assaulting Constables, and being absent from his regiment. The reported printed in the newspaper stated that an officer from the prisoner's regiment said the accused had never been to the front, and that he had only been in the regiment for three months'.<sup>29</sup> Offences against the Defence of the Realm Act were also brought to these police courts and reported in the newspaper, which included "A German's Maps" – failing

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<sup>26</sup> *The IPN*, 9 September 1915, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> *The IPN*, 23 September 1915, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> *The IPN*, 9 September 1915, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> *The IPN*, 23 September 1915, p. 14.

to declare maps, books, revolver and field glasses when registering; ‘A Wily German Woman’ who failed to change address with the registration officer; and Swede and Danish man failed to rejoin their vessel, the Port Macquaire.<sup>30</sup>

The police courts were not just places where justice was distributed. A small number of police court intelligence reports printed within the *IPN* confirm that London Police Courts were not just used for summary prosecutions. Individuals could go to the courts for advice and help, and this was reflected during the reports. During the First World War, police court reports suggested that more individuals sought help from magistrates, especially concerning help paying their rates. Under the heading “Not as Usual”, the report noted that ‘Alderman Sir Thomas Crosby had to deal with an unusually large number of rate summonses. Most of the defendants who appeared, in asking for an extension of time, set up the war plea’.<sup>31</sup> The *IPN* occasionally printed stories that showed individuals seeking non-felony-related assistance from the court, although the very small number of these reports did not reflect the extent of magistrates work as arbitrators or mediators.<sup>32</sup>

The style of the police court reports found within the newspaper also lacked the sensation and hyperbole that has come to characterise the written and illustrated depictions of crime and justice within the *IPN*. Whilst the reports contained some moral messages, there was little emotive language. Instead, the reports were short, concise, and informative; they provided details concerning the identity of the accused, their alleged offence with supporting evidence, and where possible, the judgement of the magistrate. Such reports tended to focus upon the detection of the crime, over any action in the court or comment on the verdict. Whilst it appears that the reports were intended to inform readers, it also

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<sup>30</sup> *The IPN*, 2 September 1915, p. 14; *The IPN*, 23 September 1915, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> *The IPN*, 25 March 1915, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Jennifer Davis, ‘A Poor Man’s System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue 2, 309-335, pp. 312-315.

appears that in a number of cases it was intended that they should entertain. Included within these police intelligence reports were a number of reports that showcased the humour and laughter in the courts. By 1903 subheadings told readers about ‘Fun in a Police Court’, and certain stipendiary magistrates, such as Mr Plowden, gained a reputation in the newspaper as merry makers. Entertaining dialogue could be printed in the reports, and the reaction of the audience was often included in parenthesis, particularly [laughter], to demonstrate the humour in the court. Another report within the same edition of the newspaper dealt with the drunk and disorderly charge of a nineteen year old, named Jolly, at Marlborough Street Police Court. The title of the headline was a pun based on the offender’s name, ‘Very Jolly!’, with the magistrate allegedly telling the young man that his drunk and disorderly behaviour should have been photographed.<sup>33</sup> The varied content, in addition to the style of these reports, suggests that like the police court reports in other publications, those within the *IPN* sought to be broad and informative, and occasionally entertaining.

### **Punishment in the police court reports and impressions of the criminal justice system**

This section will analyse the messages about justice and punishment presented by the *IPN*, a publication targeted at a largely working-class audience, in order to assess whether the *IPN* reinforced or undermined the legitimacy of the court, and more broadly the criminal justice system. It is very difficult to assess readers’ reactions to police reports and gauge how newspapers shaped public perceptions of crime and punishment. In 1851, more than a decade before the emergence of the *IPN*, the potential instructive quality of newspaper police court reports was highlighted in the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps. It was claimed that such reports were ‘the most instructive and most desirable reading in the world...many individuals involve themselves in difficulties from the ignorance of facts,

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<sup>33</sup> *Illustrated Police News*, 7 March 1903, p. 5.

which they might have learnt had they read the previous police reports'.<sup>34</sup> A number of contemporary autobiographies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stressed both the didactic value of police court reporting, but also the largely negative working-class opinion of police courts. H. T. Waddy noted the two unfortunate impressions of police courts: 'one is that the policeman is both witness and prosecutor, and the other is that the magistrate is the creature of the police'.<sup>35</sup> The 'evil reputation' of the police court was remarked upon in early twentieth-century memoirs by police court magistrates.<sup>36</sup> In his 1920 autobiography, the magistrate J. A. R. Cairns also stressed the role played by the early twentieth-century press in teaching readers that crime did not pay, with newspapers carrying 'the message to every hamlet that violating the law a man or woman sets upon a road that leads to shame and sorrow'.<sup>37</sup>

Table 5.3 (printed at end of chapter 5) shows the punishments reported in the police court, providing both the number of reports and their proportion of police court reports, expressed as a percentage. It demonstrates that up until 1892 the primary conclusion of these reports was the remand or committal of the accused, with roughly half of all cases being referred to more senior courts. However, from March 1897 there were an increasing number of cases reported where the punishment was distributed in the police court. In particular, reports suggested that magistrates increasingly distributed more prison sentences and fines. This demonstrates the effect of a number of legislative changes in the late nineteenth century, including the 1879 Act, which expanded the powers of the magistrates and summary justice. Table 5.3 shows that a large and increasing proportion of offenders were sentenced to imprisonment. Where a punishment was reported as being

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<sup>34</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps [Commons] 1851, evidence of Michael James Whitty, editor of the *Liverpool Journal*, p. 106-109, quote in Rosalind Crone, *Representing Violent Crime*

<sup>35</sup> H. T. Waddy, *The Police Court and its Work* (London: Butterworth, 1925), p. 26.

<sup>36</sup> Hugh R. P. Gannon, in David Taylor *Hooligan, Harlots and Hangmen: Crime and Punishment in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Praeger, 2010), p. 109.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. R. Cairns, *The Loom of the Law: The Experiences and reflections of a Metropolitan Magistrate* (London: 1920), p. 271.

given by a magistrate, it was more likely to be a prison sentence, rather than a fine, or other sentences like being bound over to keep the peace. However, the prison sentence given was usually short. Table 5.4 illustrates the length of prison sentences. It shows that the majority of prison sentences given by magistrates were for less than six months, reflecting the less serious nature of crimes heard in the police courts. Table 5.4 also highlights that from 1915 there was an increasing number of prison sentences given for longer periods than six months, although this was not the result of declining numbers of short prison sentences, and these sentences were given in addition. Additionally, the punishments distributed by the magistrates were not always consistent – sometimes a large number of fines were reported as being given by magistrates, sometimes two months hard labour, sometimes longer.

Table 5.3 demonstrates that a very small proportion of cases were either dismissed or discharged, with the number of discharged cases declining over the period. While a small number of cases were dismissed in the late nineteenth century, almost none of the cases reported in the twentieth century were dismissed (with the exception of singular cases in September 1903 and September 1927). This very small number of individuals who were reported as being discharged contributed to the overall message that if you commit a crime you will be caught and punished, supporting Jennifer Davis' assessment of police court reporting as impressing upon readers the notion that crime did not pay. Moreover, in most of cases reported, the alleged guilt of the defendant was presumed. In a 1921 report underneath the heading 'Vengeance' readers were provided with the story of how a woman attempted to mete out her own justice, after what she perceived as an unfair sentence. The defendant's brother had been imprisoned for running away and leaving his wife. As he was sentenced his sister stood up and punched her brother's wife. As a result the sister was also sentenced to prison for her actions, with the article exclaiming, 'And that's



justice!’<sup>38</sup> This seemed to suggest to readers the supremacy of the law and the role of the magistrate in distributing justice.

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<sup>38</sup> *The IPN*, 29 September 1921, p. 7.

**Table 5.4: Length of imprisonment distributed, 1867-1936**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Imprisonment &lt; 6 months</i>		<i>Imprisonment &gt; 6 months</i>	
	<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>
March 1867	13	15.48	15	17.86
Sept 1867	15	18.29	1	1.22
March 1873	12	15.38	2	2.56
Sept 1873	9	15.52	1	1.72
March 1879	14	17.72	6	7.59
Sept 1879	6	15.38	0	0.00
March 1885	3	9.38	2	6.25
Sept 1885	6	18.18	2	6.06
March 1892	9	25.00	0	0.00
Sept 1892	9	25.00	0	0.00
March 1897	16	34.04	3	6.38
Sept 1897	12	41.38	0	0.00
March 1903	4	16.67	2	8.33
Sept 1903	6	20.00	0	0.00
March 1909	11	39.29	0	0.00
Sept 1909	2	6.90	0	0.00
March 1915	16	53.33	3	10.00
Sept 1915	10	27.03	8	21.62
March 1921	3	12.50	6	25.00
Sept 1921	13	34.21	3	7.89
March 1927	18	38.30	6	12.77
Sept 1927	12	26.67	9	20.00
March 1933	21	42.00	20	40.00
Sept 1933	15	41.67	8	22.22

The reports found within the *IPN* did not offer readers such a negative impression of the police court and the work of the magistrates. The verdicts of magistrates were rarely questioned, and there was no critical editorial of the ineptitude of magistrates, unlike those expressed by *Lloyd's News* and *Reynolds' News* in 1886 and identified by Rowbotham, Stevenson, and Pegg.<sup>39</sup> The reports printed in the *IPN* tended to be fairly succinct, and limited to two or three paragraphs. The 'fairness' of the police court was rarely explored within these reports; these concise and informative reports focused upon the alleged offence with little or no comment on the punishment given by the magistrate, and did not encourage readers to debate the justice of these outcomes. Unlike the coverage of the

<sup>39</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson, Samantha Pegg, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 74.

court cases of criminal celebrities in the previous chapter, there was little courtroom dialogue printed in these accounts. Where dialogue featured, it was usually the voice of the magistrate that was printed, instead of voice of the victim or the accused. This meant that the voice of the criminal justice system was privileged over the voice of the victim or the offender. The narratives did not actively seek to bolster the legitimacy of the courts, but they certainly did not challenge or critique the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. Like the earlier criminal intelligence in *Lloyd's Weekly News*, they were meant to be informative but not provocative.<sup>40</sup> This demonstrates a continuity with the eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century court newspapers, which were shown by David Lemmings to be 'generally deferential to the courts and their decisions, for the rule of law ideology was just too strong to challenge court decisions directly'.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusion

The newspaper contained a much wider variety of law and order news than has previously been acknowledged. The *IPN*, as we have seen in earlier chapters, did contain a large number of sensational stand-alone articles, and occasionally printed serial reports of crime, providing readers with the graphic written accounts of human tragedy and interpersonal violence. However, in addition to these articles, the *IPN* printed regular columns of criminal intelligence, in particular police intelligence. Police intelligence has traditionally been regarded as a feature of the eighteenth-century press and early popular weekly press.<sup>42</sup> However, this chapter has shown that police intelligence continued to be popular and important in some late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century newspapers like the *IPN*.

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<sup>40</sup> Rosalind Crone, 'Publishing Courtroom Drama for the Masses, 1820-1855', p. 22.

<sup>41</sup> David Lemmings, 'Introduction: Criminal Courts, Lawyers and the Public Sphere' in David Lemmings, ed. *Crime, Courtrooms and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1700-1850* (Farnham, 2012), p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond Williams, 'Radical and/or respectable' in Richard Boston, ed., *The Press we Deserve*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 20-21.

The existence, style, content, and messages of the police court reporting printed in the *IPN* shows that the *IPN* underwent some, but not all of the changes identified by the current historiography of court reporting. Whilst the number of police court reports printed by the *IPN* declined after 1885, they did not disappear completely. The proportion and position of these reports remained constant between 1885 and 1921, and even increased after 1921. This is in contrast with Jennifer Davis' assertion that that Police Court reporting virtually disappeared from twentieth-century newspapers. Even during the First World War, when news items about events on the Front almost completely replaced all other crime reports in the *IPN*, police intelligence kept the same levels of reporting as pre-war. The continuity of police court reports during the First World War demonstrates that police court reporting was an important part of the *IPN*'s template. The newspaper was constructed to a template, which dictated the proportions of different offences reported in the newspaper, and was used to vary the reader's experience. When the sensational stories of crime, which were largely accounts of interpersonal violence, were replaced with equally sensational accounts of war and violence during the First World War, these police court reports continued to be printed to maintain the same balance and reading experience of the newspaper. This continued practice of printing police court reports also suggests that they continued to capture reader interest and remained an economically viable option for the publishers. This shows that older traditions of crime reporting continued to exist alongside the changing content of the newspaper, which now included more sporting intelligence and betting tips, which suited the taste of a growing number of readers.

Despite the continuity in the printing of these columns, there were some changes in the layout and style of these reports. There was an increased amount of white space, with fewer reports squeezed into the columns. There was also the introduction of subheadings, allowing the *IPN* to more clearly highlight the human-interest stories. These factors all illustrate that once again that the *IPN* underwent a series of changes in order to preserve

the older traditions of crime reporting. These changes support Rowbotham, Stevenson, and Pegg's analysis of changes in crime reportage, which note that there was a shift towards incorporating sensationalism into crime reportage from 1885. However, despite these changes, the police court reporting printed in the *IPN* did not entirely support the bold assertions of Rowbotham, Stevenson, and Pegg. Police Court reports continued to be printed in the *IPN* in the twentieth century, and the newspaper's 'criminal intelligence' was not reduced to merely 'gossip news' – the criticism levelled at the twentieth-century press by Rowbotham et al. The grand argument of Rowbotham et al – that nineteenth-century criminal intelligence was written by barristers, meaning that it was more legally informative than the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century reports written by journalists – cannot be supported by looking at the reports included in the *IPN*.

It is difficult to assess the impact that these representations of the daily business of the court had upon readers' perceptions of crime, punishment and the justice process. Given the large number of offences prosecuted summarily, it is unsurprising that the *IPN* had to select the cases it wished to report. Instead of focusing upon interpersonal violence, the police court reports predominantly reported property offences, throughout the whole period of study. The exception to this was a brief period between March 1897 and March 1909, when the newspaper became particularly concerned about public order offences, including betting and failing to maintain one's family. This supports the notion that the *IPN* reported cases that would appeal to public interest.

Changes in the *IPN*'s police court reporting throughout the period demonstrate that the *IPN*'s crime reporting was affected by both changes in the press, but also changes in the criminal justice process. Prior to 1897 the most likely outcome of the cases reported in the *IPN* was the remand or committal of the prisoner for trial in a higher court. After this point, the cases were more likely to be resolved in Police Court, primarily through a prison

sentence. This shows the effect of the extension of summary justice. Moreover, it would seem that throughout the period in question, such reports never challenged the decisions of the magistrates. Very few of the reports concerned cases that were either dismissed or discharged, and the 'fairness' of police court decisions were rarely explored within these reports. These police court reports, by their very nature, were much shorter than the extended reports of the detection of crime and their trials. The narratives did not actively seek to bolster the legitimacy of the courts, but they certainly did not challenge or critique the legitimacy of the criminal justice system.

**Table 5.2: Police Court reports in the *Illustrated Police News*, 1867-1936**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Total cases reported</i>	<i>Property</i>		<i>Interpersonal</i>		<i>Deception</i>		<i>Misdemeanours</i>		<i>Other</i>	
		<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>Number of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>Number of Reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>
March 1867	85	42	49.41	21	24.71	3	3.53	18	21.18	1	1.18
Sept 1867	82	31	37.80	29	35.37	6	7.32	14	17.07	2	2.44
March 1873	78	26	33.33	19	24.36	11	14.10	18	23.08	4	5.13
Sept 1873	58	17	29.31	16	27.59	3	5.17	22	37.93	0	0.00
March 1879	79	37	46.84	14	17.72	10	12.66	16	20.25	2	2.53
Sept 1879	39	17	43.59	8	20.51	4	10.26	8	20.51	2	5.13
March 1885	32	11	34.38	8	25.00	4	12.50	7	21.88	2	6.25
Sept 1885	33	14	42.42	8	24.24	2	6.06	9	27.27	0	0.00
March 1892	36	15	41.67	12	33.33	1	2.78	7	19.44	1	2.78
Sept 1892	36	11	30.56	14	38.89	3	8.33	8	22.22	0	0.00
March 1897	47	6	12.77	18	38.30	1	2.13	19	40.43	3	6.38
Sept 1897	29	5	17.24	10	34.48	0	0.00	10	34.48	4	13.79
March 1903	24	11	45.83	2	8.33	1	4.17	10	41.67	0	0.00
Sept 1903	30	7	23.33	4	13.33	2	6.67	16	53.33	1	3.33
March 1909	28	15	53.57	2	7.14	4	14.29	6	21.43	1	3.57
Sept 1909	29	15	51.72	8	27.59	3	10.34	3	10.34	0	0.00
March 1915	30	13	43.33	3	10.00	6	20.00	8	26.67	0	0.00
Sept 1915	37	13	35.14	8	21.62	6	16.22	10	27.03	0	0.00
March 1921	34	20	58.82	3	8.82	5	14.71	6	17.65	0	0.00
Sept 1921	38	19	50.00	10	26.32	5	13.16	4	10.53	0	0.00
March 1927	47	29	61.70	4	8.51	3	6.38	11	23.40	0	0.00
Sept 1927	47	18	38.30	15	31.91	7	14.89	5	10.64	2	4.26
March 1933	50	39	78.00	2	4.00	4	8.00	5	10.00	0	0.00
Sept 1933	36	17	47.22	5	13.89	7	19.44	7	19.44	0	0.00

**Table 5.3: Punishment of offenders in the police court reports, 1867-1936**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Discharged</i>		<i>Remanded or committed for trial</i>		<i>Fine</i>		<i>Imprisonment</i>		<i>Other</i>		<i>None given</i>	
	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>	<i>No. of reports</i>	<i>% of police court reports</i>
March 1867	2	2.38	20	23.81	19	22.62	28	32.94	8	9.52	7	8.33
Sept 1867	13	15.85	31	37.80	15	18.29	16	19.51	7	8.54	0	0.00
March 1873	6	7.69	33	42.31	9	11.54	14	17.95	15	19.23	1	1.28
Sept 1873	9	15.52	21	36.21	11	18.97	10	17.24	7	12.07	0	0.00
March 1879	4	5.06	37	46.84	10	12.66	20	25.32	8	10.13	0	0.00
Sept 1879	3	7.69	23	58.97	3	7.69	6	15.38	4	10.26	0	0.00
March 1885	3	9.38	13	40.63	6	18.75	5	15.63	5	15.63	0	0.00
Sept 1885	3	9.09	14	42.42	4	12.12	8	24.24	4	12.12	0	0.00
March 1892	0	0.00	17	47.22	5	13.89	9	25.00	4	11.11	1	2.78
Sept 1892	5	13.89	14	38.89	5	13.89	9	25.00	3	8.33	0	0.00
March 1897	5	10.64	9	19.15	9	19.15	19	40.43	4	8.51	1	2.13
Sept 1897	1	3.45	5	17.24	6	20.69	12	41.38	5	17.24	0	0.00
March 1903	2	8.33	10	41.66	6	25.00	6	25.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sept 1903	1	3.33	6	20.00	11	36.67	6	20.00	6	20.00	0	0.00
March 1909	0	0.00	15	53.58	0	0.00	11	39.29	2	7.14	0	0.00
Sept 1909	0	0.00	16	55.18	10	34.48	2	6.90	1	3.45	0	0.00
March 1915	0	0.00	10	33.34	0	0.00	19	63.33	1	3.33	0	0.00
Sept 1915	0	0.00	15	40.54	1	2.70	18	48.65	3	8.11	0	0.00
March 1921	0	0.00	13	54.17	2	8.33	9	26.47	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sept 1921	0	0.00	16	42.10	5	13.16	16	42.11	1	2.63	0	0.00
March 1927	0	0.00	20	42.55	3	6.38	24	51.06	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sept 1927	1	2.22	10	22.22	9	20.00	21	44.68	4	8.89	0	0.00
March 1933	0	0.00	5	10.00	3	6.00	41	82.00	1	2.00	0	0.00
Sept 1933	0	0.00	6	16.67	5	13.89	23	63.89	2	5.56	0	0.00





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## Mapping Crime

On 7 March 1885, the *Illustrated Police News* proudly stated:

As to that never picking up a paper without seeing records of crime, that is a matter of course. Only a few years ago such crimes were committed, but there was no telegraph to flash them all over the country. Tomorrow we may get a murder from Exeter, a fraud from Aberdeen, an embezzlement from Cork, a case of cruelty from Yarmouth, an absconding manager from London, a divorce scandal from Edinburgh. In an earlier day each locality would have consumed its own smoke. Our population increases at a portentous [sic] rate, and whatever happens anywhere is at once known everywhere.<sup>1</sup>

This announcement, made on page three of the newspaper under the heading of ‘General News’, suggests that by the late 1880s, the *Illustrated Police News (IPN)* was able to publish details of crimes from across the country, rather than focusing solely on crimes that were committed in London. It also demonstrates the importance the newspaper placed on the location in which the crime took place. This chapter will explore whether the above comment reflected the reality of crime reportage featured in the *IPN*. It will demonstrate that whilst it was possible for the telegraph to ‘flash’ details of crimes from “all over the country”, the majority of crime reportage within the *IPN* focused upon urban crime, and in particular offences that took place in London. After London, the areas that received regular coverage in the reports were predominantly urban – Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, and the North East. However, crimes which took place in less populous areas could also be featured in the newspaper, but this was usually if they were especially interesting, amusing, or sensational.

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<sup>1</sup> *Illustrated Police News*, 7 March 1885, p. 3.

In addition to analysing the locations or ‘places’ that received the most coverage in the reportage, this chapter will also explore the representation of the spaces in which crime took place, and how these spaces interacted with place, time, and the nature of the crime to create and reinforce perceptions of crime. In his study of nineteenth-century Paris, Dominique Kalifa demonstrated that ‘as much as the motives, circumstances or perpetrators of crime, the places or “scenes” play an essential role in the construction of crime realities’.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will explore the role played by place and space in constructing ‘crime realities’, in particular studying whether the *IPN* reinforced or contributed to popular anxieties about crime, and whether changing popular conceptions of crime impacted upon reporting in the *IPN*. The chapter will demonstrate that like many aspects of the *IPN*’s content, style, and format already studied throughout the thesis, there were both continuities and changes in the representation of space and place throughout the newspaper’s publishing history. The chapter will highlight once again the impact of both the First World War and the changing structure of the newspaper upon the *IPN*’s representation of space and place. This will raise questions about the manufacture and construction of news within the *IPN*. The chapter will explore how the quantity and content of these crime reports was influenced by a number of factors, including the geographic distribution of readers, the news-gathering devices employed by the press, and the structure and format of the newspaper itself.

The *IPN* was responsive to reader demands and commercial viability. Whilst conforming to contemporary perceptions of crime, the locations that received the most crime news coverage after London also corresponded with those areas that enjoyed a high circulation of the *IPN*. Importantly, the chapter will demonstrate that the majority of crime reporting

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<sup>2</sup> Dominique Kalifa, ‘Crime Scenes: Criminal Topography and Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Paris’, *French Historical Studies*, 27 (2004), p. 175.

in the *IPN* continued to be driven by court reporting, especially those cases heard at the magistrates and assize courts, rather than the detection of crime. Finally, although the chapter will focus predominantly upon the representation of crimes that took place in Britain (since these constituted the majority of reports) there will be a qualitative study of the way in which crimes from abroad were reported.

### **Contemporary perceptions of crime, location, and space**

The rise of cities and the growth of urban population generated a number of loudly voiced concerns about the rise of crime and degeneration of the city. These concerns began in the nineteenth century, continuing into the twentieth century, and focused in particular on the capital city. In 1851, thirteen years before the *IPN* was first published, Thomas Plint declared that:

The pickpocket and the thief can find no nesting place amongst the statesmen of Cumberland and Westmorland, or the miners of Durham and Cornwall. They fly to Birmingham, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds. They congregate where there is plenty of plunder and verge enough to hide it.<sup>3</sup>

This view continued to be held by contemporaries, including Thomas Hammick, who noted in 1867 that ‘the criminal classes are for the most part congregated in the towns’.<sup>4</sup> Despite the work of social scientists including Charles Booth to try and dispel the myth of ‘the hordes of barbarians...who will one day overwhelm modern civilisation’, images of the ‘criminal world’ and ‘underworld’ in the nocturnal city continued to proliferate in some popular texts of the time. This included Jack London’s representation of the threat and ‘nightly horror’ of London in his account of the *People in the Abyss* in 1903. He spoke of

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Plint, *Crime in England: Its relation, character, and extent as developed from 1801 to 1848*, (London: 1851), p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> James T. Hammick, ‘On the judicial statistics of England and Wales with special reference to recent returns relating to crime’, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, (1867), pp. 391.

a breed of 'city savages', and used imagery to describe the slum as their 'jungle', where they live and prey.<sup>5</sup>

These representations suggested that members of the criminal underclasses travelled to the cities specifically to find opportunities for criminal activity. However, as the literature review suggested, the 1870s marked a turning point in such perceptions of crime and criminals.<sup>6</sup> A new sense of public security began to emerge; 'police reformers registered a marked improvement in city life', and the number of recorded 'criminal classes at large' declined markedly.<sup>7</sup> Felons were no longer viewed with fear and awe and were instead portrayed as 'social wreckage' rather than as social outlaws.<sup>8</sup> These shifting perceptions of the felon and human nature were also reflected in changing perceptions of the relationship between environmental determinants and crime. Location and space remained important factors, but environmental determinants began to be regarded as a constraining cage limiting the individual rather than as something created by the individual's efforts. In 1912 James Devon, a prison medical officer, who would later be made a prison commissioner for Scotland, noted that crime was 'largely a by-product of city-life'.<sup>9</sup> However, instead of identifying criminals as the dangerous classes, he suggested that they were victims of oppressive social conditions, and that crime itself was a by-product of the environment and its social deficiencies, which would continue to be a problem as long as 'we permit conditions to exist which shut men into dens until circumstances that make decent communion and fellowship between them difficult'.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Jack London, *People of the Abyss* (London, 1903) qu. In Joachim Schlor, *Nights in the Big City* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> D.J.V. Jones, "The New Police, Crime and People in England and Wales, 1829-1888", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1983), p. 160; Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> Martin J. Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830-1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> James Devon, *The Criminal and the Community* (London: J. Lane, Bodley Head, 1912), pp. 68, 90, 94.

<sup>10</sup> James Devon, *The Criminal and the Community* (London: J. Lane, Bodley Head, 1912), pp. 68, 90, 94.

Clive Emsley's study of the environmental perceptions of crime in the nineteenth century showed the environment dictated both the style and forms of crime.<sup>11</sup> Some crimes, by their very nature, could only take place in specific locations, including street robbery, which could not happen in a field, or arson, which was primarily a rural offence.<sup>12</sup> Urban areas with higher concentrations of people, warehouses and commercial spaces, could provide greater opportunities for crimes such as theft, leading to greater incidences of property crime.<sup>13</sup> However, it should be noted that policing, reporting, and the structure of the judicial system also contributed to the apparent prevalence of these crimes. Whilst Emsley notes that historians would find it difficult to amass the data of modern criminologists and to generalise about zonal arrangements of land use, physical conditions and demographic structures, he stresses the 'immense value' of making a rough division of the city into centre, commercial, and industrial zones, as well as inner-city residential districts and suburbs in order to understand the criminal characteristics of urban neighbourhoods in the past.<sup>14</sup> The city centre attracts crowds to its shops and entertainments. These crowds supply opportunities for the pickpocket, whilst shops (along with offices) offer opportunities for shoplifting and burglary. Entertainments also provide possibilities for minor assaults, whilst commercial and industrial zones create opportunities for theft and embezzlement. This chapter will attempt to make similar rough divisions of urban spaces and locations in order to analyse how the *IPN* represented the criminal characteristics of these specific neighbourhoods.

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<sup>11</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (1987, reprinted Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (1987, reprinted Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), p. 120.

<sup>13</sup> P. 124.

<sup>14</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (1987, reprinted Harlow: Pearson Education, 2010), p. 129.

Space was also integral to the way in which crimes were perceived. During the late nineteenth century popular anxieties about violence tended to focus upon the fear of attack by a stranger.<sup>15</sup> The Victorian era was also subject to crime panics such as the “garrotting” panics or “Ripper” murders. The panic and fear of violence on the streets and the threat of strangers was contrasted dramatically with the Victorian idealism of the home.<sup>16</sup> According to Emsley, ‘everyone knew about violence in the family and violent families’, and it was hardly possible to pick up a local newspaper without seeing some reference to such violence in at least the columns reporting on the local courts.<sup>17</sup> However, this was never presented as something that created a problem for the concept of the gentle non-violent English. It was more comfortable to explain such violence as something committed by the residuum and the roughs.<sup>18</sup>

This chapter will undertake a case study of the reporting of offences against the person - overwhelmingly crimes of a violent nature - in order to determine whether the *IPN* contributed to specific fears about violence, and whether such representations changed over time. It will show that the newspaper’s representation of violent crime was not so simplistic – whilst newspaper reporting initially presented violent crime as occurring predominantly in open spaces, by the end of the period it was more consistently reported as a domestic crime. Moreover, whilst reports from the police courts reported domestic violence as primarily committed by the lower classes, this was not presented as a social problem committed by ‘the roughs’ or the residuum’. In addition, reports accompanying the newspaper’s illustrations - which focused on the most entertaining, sensational, or unusual crimes - could also feature violence between the upper classes. Consequently,

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<sup>15</sup> Clive Emsley, *Hard Men: The English and Violence since 1750* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 74-75.

whilst presented as slightly troubling, such representations of violence were rarely shown to be threatening society but rather a more-or-less normal part of social life.

Consequently, despite changing perceptions of crime, criminals, and environment, location and space continued to be central to the construction of perceptions and attitudes towards crime. This chapter will explore whether the *IPN* presented readers with the images and imaginations of crime such as those presented by Jack London, and in turn whether the newspaper's representation of crime changed as contemporary ideas about criminality were reformed.

### **The impact of circulation and readership**

As has been highlighted in the preceding chapters, whilst the *IPN* was a London newspaper, it was circulated throughout the country. This thesis has adopted a combination of contemporary observation and content analysis in order to estimate the geographical distribution of the *IPN*'s readership, a technique employed by Virginia Berridge in her thesis on working-class Sunday newspapers.<sup>19</sup> Whilst this technique can find hidden readers, there are some drawbacks, and Berridge noted some of these in her thesis, namely that the evidence she gathered using these techniques was scrappy, fragmented, and sporadic, making it difficult to gain a sense of how readerships changed over time.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, contemporary evidence and internal evidence located within the *IPN* is sporadic, and whilst revealing the existence of some readers it is difficult to chart the development or changing distribution of readers, particularly in the twentieth century. Despite these difficulties, existing contemporary evidence, derived from autobiographies and journal articles, suggests a strong readership outside of London, particularly in a number of urban areas, such as Manchester and Birmingham. This evidence is supported

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<sup>19</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working-class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 50

<sup>20</sup> Virginia Berridge, 'Popular journalism and working-class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds's Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p. 105.



by the day on which the *IPN* was printed – the newspaper was printed on a Tuesday, but not sold until Saturday - which allowed editions of the newspaper to be transported outside of the London. The *IPN* enjoyed a large circulation in Manchester. Using information from the wholesale firms in the city, the Manchester Literary Club asserted that the *IPN* was the second most widely circulated weekly newspaper in Manchester in 1876 (after the *Weekly Budget*), selling around 11,000 copies a week.<sup>21</sup> According to the Literary Club, this ‘unfortunately large’ circulation was slightly more than *Reynolds’s* (also around 11,000), and significantly more than *The Englishman* (4,300), the *Weekly Times* London (4,000), and *Lloyd’s News* (2,600). These circulation figures were also significantly higher than the pictorial papers, such as the *Penny Illustrated* (1,000), the *Graphic* (400), and the *Pictorial World* (200).<sup>22</sup> Assuming a total circulation figure for the *IPN* of 150,000 (as listed by the *Newspaper Press Directory* of 1870), approximately more than seven per cent of the newspaper’s total issue went to Manchester.<sup>23</sup>

There were also readers in Birmingham and the Black Country. An article about the Black Country, published in 1869 by *Tinsley’s Magazine*, noted that the *IPN* was ‘the only reading material of some and the favourite publication of a great number of the natives’. Moreover, the magazine went on to note that ‘they seem to have a natural taste for the dramatically horrible. They point with a kind of pride to the scene of a sensational murder that took place in the neighbourhood – a murder for which a man was tried and acquitted; which was worked up into a melodrama at the theatre of the nearest county town, and the perpetrator of which now ranks in the long list of undiscovered criminals.’ People liked to ‘dwell upon the stories of crime and misery associated with the many disused pits scattered

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<sup>21</sup> J. H. Nodal, ‘The Circulation of Newspaper and Periodicals in Manchester’, *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, (vol.II.1876), p.35.

<sup>22</sup> J. H. Nodal, ‘The Circulation of Newspaper and Periodicals in Manchester’, *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, (vol.II.1876), p.34-35.

<sup>23</sup> *Newspaper Press Directory: Containing full particulars relative to each journal published in the UK and the British Isles*, C. Mitchell and co. Advertising Contractors, 12 and 13 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, 1870, p. 139.

about the locality. They tell of the body of a cashier found at the bottom of an old shaft...they point to one particularly gloomy pit, down which a girl plunged headlong'.<sup>24</sup> The illustrations of these places and locations then, acted as a kind of souvenir guide or map to one's own local area. Autobiographical accounts also highlight readerships in Liverpool and Glasgow. Joseph Stamper (b. 1886), from St Helen's, recalled reading the 'Police News' and Police Budget', stating that 'the most sensational crime of the previous week was always given on the front page'.<sup>25</sup> Edwin Muir, a farmer's son who grew up in Orkney before his father's farm fell on hard times and the family moved to Glasgow, also recalled the graphic detail he once saw upon the cover of the *IPN*.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to these contemporary observations, evidence from an interview with George Purkess and internal evidence from the newspaper itself confirms the large circulation of the newspaper to regions outside of London. When readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* voted the *IPN* the 'worst newspaper in England' in 1886 an interview with George Purkess was featured in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he stressed the wide geographical distribution of the newspaper. He noted that 'the paper is most highly circulated in Manchester and Liverpool; Birmingham and the Black Country stand next; then Scotland (Glasgow and Edinburgh) and the North of England about rank together in appreciation of the journal; the London circulation is only about one-eighth of the entire issue'.<sup>27</sup> This evidence suggests a large circulation in urban environments. In addition, some more fragmentary and limited evidence draws attention to circulation in other environments. According to Linda Stratmann the magistrates of Shrewsbury reportedly instructed the police to suppress the circulation of the *IPN* in their town.<sup>28</sup> The *IPN* also made its way to villages, and a 'Royal Commission on Employment, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture' conducted in

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<sup>24</sup> 'In the Black Country', *Tinsley's Magazine*, vol 4 (June 1869), pp427-28.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Stamper, *So Long Ago* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), p. 160.

<sup>26</sup> Edwin Muir, *The Story and the fable: An Autobiography* (London: G.G.Harrap, 1940), pp. 84-5.

<sup>27</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Linda Stratmann, *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities: The Illustrated Police News, 1864-1938* (London: The British Library, 2011), p.16.

1868 reported of a rural cottage in Burghfield where the walls ‘were largely adorned with sheets of the “Police News”’.<sup>29</sup> This is supported by the claim of Francis Hitchman in 1881 that ‘the *Illustrated Police News* is to be found in every town and village in England’.<sup>30</sup>

It is conceivable that the large readerships in the above named urban environments both determined and were determined by the *IPN*’s crime reporting. Historians such as Robert Darnton have noted the importance of audience in determining the content of communications. His 1982 work “What is the History of Books?” illustrated the reader’s role in completing the “Circuit of Communications”, since the reader influences the author both before and after the act of composition”.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, in order to increase sales and remain commercially viable the *IPN* needed to print stories that appealed to its readership, of which the location of the crime was one factor alongside other elements such as the type of crime, and the identity of the accused and the victim.

However, it is difficult to draw a precise correlation between the locations of crimes reported in the *IPN* and the geographical distribution of the newspaper’s readership. Virginia Berridge’s thesis on popular Sunday newspapers also highlighted these difficulties, and in addition found that the content of news reports in both *Lloyd’s* and *Reynold’s* was shaped by a combination of factors, including the newspapers’ dependence upon copied reports and agency news.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, the location of crimes reported in the *IPN* can tell us just as much about the development of reporting techniques and the provincial newspapers during this period. The cities that received the most extensive

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<sup>29</sup> ‘Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Second Report’ (Parl. Papers, 1869-69, XIII), p. 399.

<sup>30</sup> Francis Hitchman, ‘The Penny Press’, *Macmillan’s Magazine* 43 (March 1881), 385-398, reprinted in *Popular Print Media, 1820-1900*, vol III eds. Andrew King and John Plunket, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 397.

<sup>31</sup> Darnton, 1982, p. 76.

<sup>32</sup> Virginia Berridge, ‘Popular journalism and working-class attitudes, 1854-1886: A study of Reynolds’s Newspaper, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, and the Weekly Times’ (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1976), p.131.

coverage in the *IPN* had their own established provincial newspapers. The nineteenth century saw Manchester become England's second city for print culture, whilst the *Leeds Mercury*, emerged as one of the first provincial newspapers to rival the London press. Consequently, it is more than possible that the *IPN* could have gathered its crime stories from these provincial newspapers, particularly when seeking to fill spaces in the newspaper.

## **Methodology**

In order to analyse the role that place and space played in the reporting of crime throughout the newspaper's publishing history, this chapter has employed a range of quantitative and qualitative methods. In particular, it has used historical Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in order to plot the data and to visualise and determine patterns or changes in the reporting of crime over a long period of time. GIS is a system for 'capturing, storing, checking, integrating, manipulating, analysing and displaying data which are spatially referenced to earth'.<sup>33</sup> Map historian Jeremy Black suggests that maps allow consideration of 'a simultaneity of events or developments, something that is not possible in text and that enables the readers of maps to devise their own patterns of association and explanation without the textual ordering of precedence'.<sup>34</sup> In their study of historical GIS, B.M. MacDonald and F. A. Black highlighted the importance of a temporal and spatial framework for the study of print culture and the ways in which GIS could support this. GIS technology allows researchers to determine location, condition, trends, and patterns, asking questions such as 'What is?', 'Where is?', 'What has changed since?', and 'What is the spatial distribution of?'.

The maps that will be displayed and analysed in this chapter use a vector data model, with

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<sup>33</sup> Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography: Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies and Scholarship, eds. Ian Gregory and Paul Ell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (New Haven: Yale, 1997)

the spatial data represented in points. There have been a number of limitations with this methodology, which relate to both the limitations of the software, but also to the limitations of the ‘data’ provided in the crime reports of the *IPN* and problems facing the geo-referencing of historical sources more generally. There are three main problems with the software. First, where there are multiple entities of the same place name, only one point is initially displayed instead of overlapping points, as they all have the same coordinate points. Behind this coordinate point the attribute data for all of the records is stored. Because all the records have the same location, they also have the same coordinate points, so they are all stacked on top of each other. This presents difficulties when attempting to visually represent the quantity of crime reports from specific locations, so the points need to be dispersed. This can be overcome by displacing the points, meaning that all points are circled overlapping a central point. Second, there are multiple locations in the country with the same place name. Where there were a number of places in the database that appeared in the gazetteer multiple times the software does not match them (although other software may duplicate the data). When this happened I had to use other information from the news reports (such as the location of the court where the case was heard) in order to verify the location and then manually add the coordinates. Similarly, if the software is programmed to only accept exact matches, then the spelling of place names must be identical in order to produce a match. Even minor differences, including hyphens or apostrophes will cause a non-match, including Newcastle, which was not plotted as the gazetteer expected “Newcastle-Upon-Tyne”. These limitations meant that after the initial search, only 425 records in the sample matched. This left 377 records unmatched, which required the coordinate points to be manually added.

Geo-referencing, by its very nature, relies upon a precise geographical location in order to create the point coordinates on a map, whilst many of the locations cited in the newspaper were vague, or imprecise. This problem of vague or imprecise data is not specific to the

study of the *IPN*, but is typical of most historical sources, and it has been recognised that 'extracting geographical data from historical sources is analogous to data mining, but it is mining done with pickaxe and shovel at the rock face'.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, within the crime reportage, the detail of the geographical locations provided was variable. Some reports provided extensive information, including village, city or town names in addition to street names, whilst other reports may have only given a street name, or used a local business or hotel name. Writing for a readership that may have already been familiar with contemporary London, the spatial information about London crimes was mapped for readers by simply listing streets, taverns, hotels, fields, and other identifiable locations, rather than specific geographic points.

The discipline of Historical GIS is increasingly aware of these problems. Kallum Dhillon's use of historical GIS to analyse crime and criminality in Edwardian London (1910-1913) employed a multi-source approach to overcome the difficulties associated with these imprecise or vague crime locations reported in newspapers, augmenting the information provided in newspaper reports with Old Bailey Proceedings.<sup>36</sup> His research utilised specific Ordinance Survey maps of Edwardian London, 1911 Census enumerators' summary books, and post office directories in order to further confirm the accurate location of where a crime took place. This labour intensive methodology was possible for an in-depth local study, across a much smaller geographical area and timeframe, and recording cases of specific crimes (murder and violent theft). However, this would be more difficult over the wider geographic and time frameworks of this chapter. Moreover, Dhillon's research studied the occurrence and incidence of crime and the journey or distance to crime, making the specific location of crimes important. Instead of locating the precise

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<sup>35</sup> A. K. Knowles, 'GIS and History' in A K Knowles (ed.) *Placing History: how maps, spatial data, and GIS are changing historical scholarship*, (Redlands, California: ESRI Press, 2008), pp. 1-26.

<sup>36</sup> Kallum Dhillon, 'Locating crime and criminality in Edwardian London: a G.I.S.-based approach', London, PhD thesis, 2013.

spot in which crimes were committed, this chapter seeks to explore the overall representation of location and space in the newspaper.

This chapter acknowledges that its data has fuzzy edges, and cannot provide an authoritative or complete spatial picture of the locations of crime reported. However, what this basic use of GIS can do is give an overall impression of possible trends and patterns in crime reporting, in order to support and contribute to existing ideas about the reporting of crime in the popular press. So while there are very real limitations of using GIS to map crimes reported in the *IPN*, the maps below still offer the opportunity to make connections between crimes reported across a wide time period and geographical scale. The sample selected allowed the analysis of the *IPN*'s coverage of crime reporting at six-year intervals between the dates of 1867 and 1933.<sup>37</sup> As a result of the large quantity of crimes reported in the newspaper, and the time taken to create and interrogate a dataset using GIS software, this sample contained only the first edition of each March and September's newspapers, instead of the entire month (as in previous chapters). Within the sample of newspapers, all articles pertaining to crime were coded, even the smallest 'reports' which could be as brief as a few sentences. This was because they were part of the newspaper's crime reportage, and all the different reports about crime would have fitted together like a jigsaw when forming reader perception. These articles were manually coded, with the information below recorded:

- **Date the crime was reported**

To explore whether the representations of crime changed over time.

- **The size of the report and the page on which it featured**

To assess whether certain crimes or locations received more prominent coverage.

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<sup>37</sup> The years analysed were: 1867, 1873, 1879, 1885, 1892 (1891 not available), 1897, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921, 1927, and 1933.

- **The headlines accompanying reports**

To see whether it was possible trace patterns between the presentation of crime, space and place.

- **Type of crime and its classification**

I have organised these offences into the six categories established by Samuel Redgrave, the criminal registrar, in 1832. These six statistical categories are listed below:

- 1. Offences Against the Person** - Murder, manslaughter, assaults, suicide was also included within this category, although it would have been regarded as a miscellaneous offence.
- 2. Offences Against Property committed with violence** - Robbery and burglary.
- 3. Offences Against Property committed without violence** - Embezzlement, felony, frauds, larceny, theft, receiving stolen goods, and obtaining money or goods by false pretences.
- 4. Malicious offences against property**- Arson or wilful damage.
- 5. Offences against the currency** - Forgery or coining.
- 6. Miscellaneous offences** - This encompassed a wide variety of offences, such as cruelty to animals, Breach of the Peace, drunk and disorderly behaviour, deserting and neglecting to maintain families, furiously driving, gambling or gaming, keeping disorderly houses, offences invoked under the Night Act (notably being in possession of instruments for the purpose of housebreaking) and vagrancy (within the Vagrancy Act, there was the Prevention of Crimes act, which included, aggressive drunkenness, riot, threatening, insulting and abusive language, resisting or assaulting a police officer, and escaping lawful custody.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Barry Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880-1945: The rough and the criminal, the policed and the incarcerated*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 19-20; See National Archives (P.R.O.) MEPO 63/2 for the year ending 29 September, 1858.



When crimes were the subject of both a woodcut illustration and written report within the same newspaper, this was logged once to avoid duplication.

- **Location of the crime**

This was recorded for geo-referencing purposes. As mentioned above, due to the dominance of British crime reporting and the gazetteer used, these maps will only display the British crimes reported in the *IPN*. The place or city was logged, in addition to more detailed information about streets, if provided. This street information was not plotted on the map, but could be used to find the name of the town or London district if not provided.

- **Space in which the crime took place**

Where a space was listed in the report, this was recorded in order to explore the relationship between space, crime, and location in reporting. These categories were:

1. **Public Open Spaces** - Streets, pavements, roads, fields, commons, canals, public conveniences, by the river, allotments, stables, cemeteries, courtyards. This category will be specifically compared with the domestic category in order to assess the relationship between the public and private spaces.
2. **Domestic** - This included all residential properties, including houses, flats, and lodging houses. Houses were all listed as 'domestic spaces' even if the house was considered a place of work, and an employee had committed the theft, for instance a domestic servant stealing from a master or mistress.
3. **Commercial** - This included warehouses, depots, docks, and banks, but also shops, pawnbrokers, collieries, dairies, bakeries, markets, and post offices. Essentially, these were all places where money or goods were exchanged.

4. **Entertainment** - Public houses, hotels, theatres, restaurants, café, cricket clubs, and in later years cinemas. This category was selected in order to assess whether such spaces were most frequently reported as sites of assault and affray, as noted in topographies of crime.
5. **Transport** - Including railway carriages, railway stations or embankments, ships or boats, cabs, automobiles, and tramcars. In particular to assess whether there were fears and panics created by reporting, particularly concerning crimes on trains.
6. **Miscellaneous** - These were largely institutional spaces, including prisons, police stations, schools, workhouses, churches, mental institutions, army regiments, and court rooms.

The following maps and tables have combined datasets to provide an overview of twenty-year trends of the offences reported in the *IPN*, in order to overcome any potential anomalies. The periods that will be analysed are: 1867-1879, 1880-1899, 1900-1919, and 1920-1933. The maps will be supplemented with tables that provide numerical evidence showing the reporting of crimes and their spaces and locations. These tables will be split into Metropolitan (London) and Provincial (non-London, but could still be urban locations) columns to illustrate the different characteristics of London crime reporting. Since the crime reporting featured in the *IPN* contained a wide range of offences, from non-indictable offences prosecuted summarily to more serious indictable offences heard at the Assize or quarter sessions, it is very difficult to compare the proportion of crimes reported with a selection of statistics in the Judicial Statistics for the period, but where possible this has been done. First, this chapter will analyse the representation of urban and rural environments; second, it will examine the relationship between offences and location; third, it will consider the representations of specific spaces.

## **Environments: urban versus rural**

This section will demonstrate that crime reporting within the *IPN* reinforced several contemporary perceptions about crime and criminal environments. This was particularly evident in its focus on urban areas, especially London. More importantly, this section will demonstrate that the *IPN*'s reporting of crime and the representation of urban and rural spaces was dependent upon two factors: commercial viability and feasibility. The *IPN*'s coverage of crime was primarily determined by which stories would sell, and thereafter which stories would be easy to gather to fill space in the newspaper. When the newspaper's structure changed in the 1890s and there was less need to find small news reports to fill space in particular columns, the number of crime reports from urban areas outside of London declined.

Figure 1 (Annex) is a map that plots the reporting of all crimes in the *IPN* across the sample categorised by the twenty-year time periods. Where there is a central point surrounded by a radius of overlapping points, this denotes a location where a number of crimes have taken place. Where there are multiple crimes reported as occurring in the same place, for instance 'Bow', there are number of points with the same coordinates. This normally displays as only one point, instead of overlapping points. To provide a sense of the quantity of crimes reported as taking place in the same location, these points have been displaced, meaning that all points are circled overlapping around the central point. This map shows the dominance of London crime in the newspaper's reporting throughout the whole time period. The large number of points and the coverage of a variety of different coloured points suggest that crime reports in the *IPN* consistently focused upon London crimes throughout the newspaper's history. Thereafter the map shows that outside of London there were clusters of reporting in urban centres, most notably Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, followed by Birmingham, Glasgow, and the North East Coast. The selection of maps (figures 2-5, Annex) examines the distribution of

crime reporting across specific decades. The rest of the section will use these maps in order to study specific characteristics of crimes reported from London, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and rural settings and how this changed over time. Where possible, the reporting of crimes from these cities will be compared with crime statistics in order to ascertain whether reports of crime were founded on fact, or rather prejudice or press exaggeration. However, it is very difficult to compare the statistics of the main urban areas as the recording of crime varied extensively from force to force.

Figure 4 (Annex) is a map showing the location of crime reports from the first March and September editions of 1903, 1909, and 1915. The map shows the destabilising impact of the First World War upon crime reporting in the *IPN*. The map displays a smaller number of points, particularly in London, and in other urban centres (out of the urban cities outside of London, Liverpool received the most coverage). This reflects the much smaller number of crime reports featured in the newspaper. In the sample of the period between 1900-1919 there were a total of 149 reports about crime, compared with 213 reports preceding the war (1880-1899), and 207 in the sample post-war (1920-1933). This return to a similar number of reports in the post-war sample helps to remove any arguments that this change was the result of other factors, such as the effects of alleged ‘new journalism’ with increased white spaces and a smaller number of newspaper reports. The effect of the First World War upon the content and composition of the *IPN* has clearly been shown in previous chapters, and further sections on offences and space in this chapter will show more clearly the way in the war determined the *IPN*’s reporting of crime.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the majority of crimes reported in the *IPN* throughout the whole period were committed in London. Table 1 (Annex) provides an overview of the types of crime reported in the sample of the *IPN* between 1867 and 1938. It shows the proportion of the crime reporting devoted to specific offences, at twenty-year intervals from 1867 to

1938, and is split to show the differences between Metropolitan and Provincial reports.<sup>39</sup>

The table further supports the conclusions of figure 1 (Annex), showing the concentration of London crimes in the *IPN*'s reporting. Despite this continued dominance, the table demonstrates that there was still a general trend of decline in the number of reports about London crimes throughout the period. This was a not smooth decline, with table one showing the number of reports about crime in London leaping from 66 per cent of crime reports between 1867-1879 to 79.8 per cent of crime reports in 1880-1899, before a period of decline.

In addition to the greater frequency of London crime reporting, there was a much wider range of offences reported as taking place in the capital city. The offences receiving the most coverage were: violent offences, miscellaneous offences, and offences against property involving violence. It is also important to note that the majority of 'crime reports' within the *IPN* were based upon court reporting from the magistrates and assize courts, which has implications for both the types of crimes reported by the *IPN* and their location. It will become evident that this was particularly important for the presentation of London crime – which drew heavily upon reports from Police Courts – meaning that the reporting both focused upon the areas surrounding the most prominent courts, and presented more offences that were prosecuted summarily.

Outside of London there were clusters of reporting in urban centres. One of these locations was Liverpool, believed by many to be the most violent city in England. John Archer's study of policing and violence in Victorian Liverpool demonstrated that, by the 1870s, the city had gained a reputation as a place of criminal activity and barbarity, something that

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<sup>39</sup> As was highlighted in the methodology, the newspaper was sampled at six-year intervals: 1867, 1873, 1879, 1885, 1892 (no newspaper available of 1891), 1897, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921, 1927, and 1933.

was only heightened by the Tithebarn Street murder.<sup>40</sup> This reputation was not entirely reinforced by the crime reporting found within the *IPN*. Whilst the period between 1867 and 1879 saw the largest number of Liverpool crimes reported in the samples of the *IPN*, other cities still received more focus. There were more crime reports from Leeds, and a higher concentration of reports of violent offences from Manchester. Not all of the crimes reported from Liverpool were violent offences against the person. Moreover, even in the cases of violent offences, these reports were far from the ‘hyperbolic and hysterical news coverage’ attributed to the national press by John Archer.<sup>41</sup> The reporting of these offences occupied only a small fraction of the news reporting, often were often slotted in ‘Everybody’s Column’, surrounded by various other snippets of news, some of which did not even relate crime. This included the report of a murder in Liverpool reported in Everybody’s Column, on 1 March 1879, which was just 0.01 of a column, and the report of an assault with intent to commit murder on 6 September 1879.<sup>42</sup>

The crimes reported by the *IPN* could show how the Liverpool’s environment created opportunities for criminal activity. Its status as a port city with a lot of trade was reflected in the nature of some of the crimes reported, such as the charging of Richard Stephens, Dublin ship-owner, for sending the schooner “Reaper” to sea in an unseaworthy condition. He was found guilty and fined in full the penalty of £100.<sup>43</sup> The reporting also reflected some of the concerns of city officials. According to John Archer, the high rates of murder reported in Liverpool in the 1860s were allegedly inflated due to bureaucratic and moral concerns about infanticide.<sup>44</sup> The reports featured in the *IPN* also reflected contemporary concerns about infanticide in Liverpool. On 7 September 1867 there was a small item in

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<sup>40</sup> John Archer, *The Monster Evil: Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> John Archer, *The Monster Evil: Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> *The IPN*, 1 March 1879, p. 3; *The IPN*, 6 September 1879, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> *The IPN*, 1 March 1879, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> John Archer, *The Monster Evil: Policing and Violence in Victorian Liverpool* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 10-11.

Everybody's Column about infant suffocation in Liverpool.<sup>45</sup> However, whilst reflecting some of the concerns about crimes in Liverpool, the report did not use hyperbolic or alarmist language, and was instead a factual reporting, presenting only a small number of facts.

Whilst poverty and the large migrant community of predominantly male workers has often been cited as the main reason for high crime rates in Liverpool, the *IPN* did not exclusively present Liverpool crime as a working-class issue. Another case reported in 'Everybody's Column' provided details of a young man named Wilde who was certified as insane after shooting his father's servant girl and barricading himself in his house.<sup>46</sup> The reporting of this crime also lacked the hyperbole of sensational reporting, and presented only the briefest of facts. This story was also surrounded by an update on the Republican nomination for President of the United States and updates from the railway works to establish a connection between northern and southern counties, suggesting its role as a small news item to fill a hole. After 1880 there was a decline in the number of crimes reported from Liverpool. This was the result of the changing structure of the newspaper – whilst the number of pages in the *IPN* increased, there was a reduction in the number of very small reports, and less need to fill small amounts space.

Leeds was another urban centre that received coverage in the *IPN*'s overall reporting of crime, particularly between the years 1867-1879, with coverage of Leeds offences declining thereafter. Studies have shown that although Leeds was an area of extensive urban-industrial expansion, it was not quite as relentless and unsettling as elsewhere. Compared with its neighbour Bradford, Leeds appeared positively orderly, and less

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<sup>45</sup> *The IPN*, 7 September 1867, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> *The IPN*, 6 September 1879, p. 3.

violent.<sup>47</sup> However, in the sample of newspapers studied, Leeds received more coverage than Bradford. As figure 2 (annex demonstrates, it was only during the period between 1867-1879 that the *IPN* reported a large number of crimes from Leeds (an area which encompassed not just the inner city, but a cluster of regions outside, including: Hunslet, Horsforth and Headingley). The offences reported were predominantly property crimes committed both with and without violence.<sup>48</sup> This unusually high concentration of Leeds offences in specific editions of the newspaper provides an insight into the *IPN*'s newsgathering devices. For instance, on 2 March 1867, the newspaper reported a higher than usual incidence of crimes from Leeds and the surrounding areas, including two cases heard at Leeds Town Hall. Whilst these instances could be treated as anomalies, they also reveal much about how the newspaper was compiled. Since not all of these crimes from the same geographical areas were heard at the same courts, it would seem likely that these stories had been gathered from provincial newspapers. That the *IPN* is using the same source to gather several news stories is further reinforced by the fact that multiple reports about crimes from the same location are featured close together in the *IPN*. This happened in other geographical areas, such as Cumberland, where on 1 March 1873 there were two crimes reported from Cumberland.

Manchester was another provincial city that received a higher than average coverage of crime between 1867 and 1879. Figure 2 (Annex) illustrates the distribution of crimes reported in the *IPN* between 1867 and 1879, and is categorised by offence. It shows a greater proportion of violent offences being committed in Manchester than any other urban space outside of London (the red points show offences against the person and the purple points denote property crimes involving violence). However, this focus upon violent crime was not the result of an increased number of violent crimes taking place in Manchester, but

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<sup>47</sup> David Churchill, unpublished thesis, p. 35; Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Penguin Books, 1963, reprinted 1990), chapter 4.

<sup>48</sup> *IPN*, 2 March 1867, p.1, p. 4; *The IPN*, 1 March 1873, p. 4,



instead owed to the extensive coverage of one crime: the Whalley Range murder, which was committed by criminal celebrity, Charles Peace.

However, despite the importance of location and locality in the newspaper's reporting of Charles Peace's exploits, the *IPN* suggested that his criminal activity was exceptional – local people received Peace's confession with 'much incredulity'.<sup>49</sup> Space was important in the reporting, but the precise descriptions of Peace's route through Manchester were not an attempt to generate fears and anxieties about violent crime and disorder in Manchester, but rather as a prop to convey the action and unfolding drama. This crime was presented as something unusual; much of the reporting was concerned with the characters of Peace and the celebrity executioner Marwood, and as such it seems unlikely that it would have generated fears about violent crime and disorder in Manchester, particularly since justice was restored with the execution of the accused.

Violent crimes from these urban locations were only reported if they were exceptional or usual. This included the 'Charge of Assault Against a Policeman', whereby John Ormsby a constable in the C division of Manchester police was charged with having assaulted a man in the street.<sup>50</sup> Aside from sensational or usual cases, the other reports of violent offences were small reports, largely selected as space fillers. This included the small report of a murder featured in 'Everybody's Column' on 6 September 1879.<sup>51</sup> In the few cases that continued to be reported from Manchester in the twentieth century, the most frequently represented offence was violence against the person. This included a murder from Stalybridge (4 September 1903), a suicide in Salford (4 March 1909), an attempted murder in Eccles (1 September 1921) and - whilst technically considered a misdemeanour – an assault on a police constable (1 September 1921).

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<sup>49</sup> *The IPN*, 1 March 1879, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *The IPN*, 2 March 1867, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> *The IPN*, 6 September 1879, p. 3.

To gain coverage outside of these urban areas, crimes tended to only be reported if they were particularly sensational, interesting, or exciting. The large number of red points in rural areas, across all time frames, indicates that reports of offences against the person dominated the crime reporting from rural areas. In particular, murder, attempted murder, and manslaughter were the most likely reported offences; the more shocking the better. These were largely domestic cases, committed by family members, such as the ‘Murderous attack by a young madman on his family’ in Chesterton near Peterborough (4 September 1897, p. 2); ‘Shocking domestic tragedies’ that took place near Doncaster (5 March 1892); a ‘Wife’s terrible fight for life’ in Bilston (5 March 1903, p. 7).

The other rural crimes reported tended to be exciting, interesting, or exceptional. These included the ‘Exciting chase and capture of alleged burglars’ in Crickhowell, rural Wales in 1904.<sup>52</sup> Other offences reported included the sale of ‘Dangerous Sweets’ by Italian confectioners in Barrow in 1915, with the subtitle claiming ‘Doctors say they might have caused spasms or haemorrhage’ and the case of a man charged under the Defence of the Realm Act for flashing a lamp on a hill near Spilsby.<sup>53</sup> The maps provide further evidence that environment can dictate the styles and forms of crimes committed. Some of the offences reported were largely rural in nature. There were some instances of poaching, a predominantly rural crime, reported in the newspaper. These include the instance of a ‘poaching affray’ reported as taking place at a gentleman’s estate in Barton in the newspaper on 1 March 1873. Four ‘powerfully built men’ were remanded after being found with nets, bags, rabbits, and bludgeons on a gentleman’s estate.<sup>54</sup> The spaces in which rural crimes were reported as taking place were overwhelmingly domestic or open

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<sup>52</sup> *The IPN*, 4 September 1904, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> *The IPN*, 4 March 1915

<sup>54</sup> *The IPN*, 1 March 1873.

public spaces. Unsurprisingly, crimes reported as taking place outside of London were rarely committed in commercial or entertainment spaces.

The inflated number of crime reports from cities did not necessarily suggest to readers that these urban spaces posed a greater risk or were abnormally brutal. Instead, reporting from provincial urban areas was spasmodic, focusing in detail on a very small number of sensational cases, with all other representations of ‘urban crimes’ used simply as space fillers. Consequently, such representations of urban crime and violence were not shown to be threatening to society, but rather a more or less normal part of social life. Moreover, the number of reports from urban spaces appeared to decline over the period. This seems likely to reflect the changing structure and style of news reporting featured in the *IPN*, rather than declining rates of urban crime or a declining interest or focus on crime from provincial cities. Whilst the number of news reports featured in the newspaper did not decline rapidly, the number of very small reports was reduced. This meant that there were fewer reports of crimes in Everybody’s Column, and therefore there was less need for these small space fillers from provincial cities.

## Offences

As was highlighted earlier, some crimes, by their very nature, could only take place in specific locations. This section will examine the six categories of offence established by the criminal registrar Samuel Redgrave in 1832, to see whether these offences were presented as possessing particular location or spatial characteristics. Table 1 (Annex) provides an overview of the types of crime reported in the sample of the *IPN* between 1867 and 1938. It shows the proportion of the crime reporting devoted to specific offences, at twenty-year intervals from 1867 to 1938.<sup>55</sup> The offences most likely to be reported were offences against the person, followed by offences against property not involving violence

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<sup>55</sup> As was highlighted in the methodology, the newspaper was sampled at six year intervals: 1867, 1873, 1879, 1885, 1892 (no newspaper available of 1891), 1897, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921, 1927, 1933.

and miscellaneous offences. Offences against currency and malicious offences against property were the two least likely types of offences to be reported, which is unsurprising given the very small and volatile number of these offences that were prosecuted.<sup>56</sup> Offences against the person remained the most reported offence throughout the period, with the exception of the period between 1900 and 1919. Table 2 (Annex) shows the proportion of offences against the person reported in the newspaper and the spaces in which they were most likely to be reported as occurring.

The First World War had a significant impact upon the reporting of violent offences against the person. During this period the reporting of violent crime declined markedly before returning to pre-war levels in the period 1920-1933. This was particularly the case for crimes committed in London. During the years of war, the coverage of British crime was largely replaced by an emphasis on reporting what were (or were claimed to be) German atrocities or 'crimes'. According to Rowbotham, Stevenson, and Pegg, the publication of crime news over war news was not only considered inappropriate, but was also considered to not make commercial sense. It was felt that during war readers wanted to consume the latest, best, and most detailed war or war-related news from the Front.<sup>57</sup> This assessment is reflected in both the number and types of crimes that continued to be reported during the period. Offences against the person were replaced by miscellaneous offences as the most reported crimes. These included gambling, deserting and neglecting to maintain families, and offences covered by the vagrancy act, and Defence of the Realm Act. This reflected the structure of the newspaper throughout the First World War. Whilst the space devoted to the reporting of crime and sensation was filled with sensational accounts of war from the Front, the *IPN* continued to print the same quantity of Police Intelligence from London, accounting for the dominance of miscellaneous offences, which

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<sup>56</sup> Barry Godfrey, *Crime in England, 1880-1945: The Rough and the criminal, the policed and the incarcerated* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 26.

<sup>57</sup> Judith Rowbotham, Kim Stevenson and Samantha Pegg eds, *Crime News in Modern Britain: Press Reporting and Responsibility, 1820-2010* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 132.

largely were prosecuted summarily.

The changing spaces in which offences against the person were reported as taking place also reflected the changing perceptions and concerns about crime. The proportion of offences against the person reported in open public places declined markedly in contrast with an increasing number of offences taking place in a domestic setting. Whilst initially frequently reported, accounts of violence in open public spaces declined from 1880. This corresponded with fading fears of street violence and theft and increasing concerns about domestic violence.<sup>58</sup> The way in which the *IPN* reported offences against the person throughout the period demonstrates that in many ways the *IPN* was not quite the anomaly in nineteenth and early twentieth-century print culture that is sometimes presented. Whilst some of the accounts selected for reporting were undeniably sensational or violent, the *IPN* continued to be influenced by the same forces and reflect the same dominant values as its counterparts in the popular press – such examples of this included the declining number of reports concerning violent offences in open public spaces, the serious decline of reports about offences against the person during the First World War, and the very sporadic and rare moral panics created by violent offences on the railways.

Table 4 (Annex) shows the proportion of offences against property committed without violence reported in the *IPN* and the spaces in which they were most likely to be reported as occurring. Offences against property not involving violence were the second most likely reported offence. Whilst such offences did not necessarily possess the sensation, violence, and drama that has often been associated with the *IPN*, their dominance in the reporting reflected their levels of prosecution. The table illustrates that reporting of crime without violence occupied a substantial portion of the newspaper's crime reporting. Roughly a quarter of all crime reporting was devoted to non-violent property offences,

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<sup>58</sup> Martin Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law, and Policy in England 1830-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 282.

which primarily occurred in London. That theft without violence should regularly be reported and occupy a large proportion of total crime reporting is unsurprising given the fact that it was the most commonly prosecuted offence. Theft remained at about seventy per cent of all offences for most part of the twentieth century, with very few of these offences involving violence.<sup>59</sup>

‘Exciting’ and ‘Daring’ were two adjectives used to describe a range of property offences, almost entirely taking place in London. ‘Daring’ was most often reserved for ‘property crime involving violence’ in particular burglary and robbery from the person, committed in public spaces. These included a ‘Daring Robbery in the City’, ‘Daring Highway Robbery: A man attacked in broad daylight’, ‘Boy burglars: A series of daring robberies by two little children’ and ‘A daring outrage: Smashing a jeweller’s window’.<sup>60</sup> ‘Exciting’ was also a word used in headlines concerning London property crime. However, this was related to the capture of the offender, usually after a chase, including ‘London Police Charges: Mansion House: An exciting chase’, ‘Constable Commended after exciting chase and capture of motor thieves’, and ‘Alleged Burglar chased and captured after an exciting scene in a London Square’.<sup>61</sup>

Table 5 (Annex) shows the proportion of malicious offences against property reported in the *IPN* and the spaces in which they were most likely to be reported as occurring. It shows that only a small proportion of offences reported in the *IPN* concerned malicious offences. Whilst it was predominantly reported as a metropolitan offence, this would have been because these offences were likely to be prosecuted summarily, and thus reported in the London police courts. However, some of the offences were reported as taking place in the provinces. These offences were primarily violence against the property and wilful

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<sup>59</sup> Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in Twentieth Century England*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2011), pp. 23-5.

<sup>60</sup> *The IPN*, 5 March 1892, p. 2; *The IPN*, 5 September 1903, p. 3, p. 6; *The IPN*, 6 March 1909, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> *The IPN*, 2 September 1915, p. 14; *The IPN*, 3 March 1927, p. 4; *The IPN*, 3 March 1927, p. 2.

damage, which took place in commercial, entertainment, or public open spaces, such as public houses, shops, and even a waxwork show.<sup>62</sup> Table 6 (Annex) shows the proportion of offences against the currency reported in the *IPN*. Only a small proportion of crimes reported in the newspaper related to ‘offences against the currency’, which were predominantly counterfeit coins. Whilst only 3.7 per cent of offences reported between 1867 and 1879 were related to currency, in the 1850s and 1860s coining prosecutions represented over 15 per cent of all offences prosecuted.<sup>63</sup> However, its underrepresentation was probably because they were not particularly exciting crimes or easy to illustrate offences. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these offences took place in London, in either unspecified or commercial spaces.

Table 7 (Annex) shows the proportion of miscellaneous offences reported in the *IPN* and the spaces in which they were most likely to be reported as occurring. These offences were overwhelmingly reported as taking place in London, owing to the fact that they were a staple feature of police court reporting. A number of miscellaneous offences, by their very nature, were more likely to occur in public open spaces, and in fact it was their location in the streets that led them to be classified as offences. These included the reporting of offences against the night act – being in disguised or having instruments in possession for the purpose of stealing, and a wide range of offences which came under the Vagrancy Act – begging, wandering with no visible means of subsistence, obstruction of pavement, and drunk and disorderly behaviour. However, such reports of miscellaneous offences were much smaller in size, and as a result of their position in the Police Intelligence columns, were more likely to be surrounded by reports of a similar nature.

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<sup>62</sup> *The IPN*, 7 March 1885, *The IPN*, 7 March 1903, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> OBP, Tabulating decade against offence subcategory. Counting by offence. The coining prosecutions in the Old Bailey Online counts cover a range of offences. See C. Emsley, T. Hitchcock and R. Shoemaker, ‘Coining offences’, <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Crimes.jsp#coining>,

## Spaces

The newspaper transmitted a variety of messages about crime based on a number of factors. The space in which a crime took place, in addition to the offence committed, the identity of the victim and offender, and the location itself, all shaped the way in which the crime was presented. Table 8 (Annex) provides an overview of the trends in crime reporting and the spaces in which crimes were reported as most likely to be committed. It shows the proportion of reports in the *IPN* where the site of an offence was specifically listed, and allows for a comparison over time and between metropolitan and provincial areas. The table shows that in roughly a quarter of all reports (aside from 1880-1899) the space in which the crime took place was not specified. The table highlights that the spaces in which crimes were most likely to be reported as occurring were: domestic spaces, open public spaces, and commercial spaces. Domestic space was consistently reported as the site of offences, although the proportion of London and non-London reports of offences in domestic settings could vary. The period saw a rise in the proportion of offences committed in a commercial location, and unsurprisingly, these reports were largely confined to London. Reports of offences committed on transport were sporadic, with a notable increase in the period between 1880 and 1899. This section will analyse the representation of spaces in the newspaper, in particular providing a detailed analysis of the representation of public open spaces and domestic spaces, since these were the spaces that were most likely to be represented in crime reports. A brief overview of the representation of crime in commercial spaces, entertainment spaces, transport spaces, and miscellaneous spaces will also be provided.

Table 9 (Annex) shows the proportion of reports in the *IPN* in which an ‘open public space’ was listed as the site of the offence. The table highlights the declining newspaper representation of offences taking place in the public space – from 32 per cent of crime reports (1867-1879) to 18.8 per cent (1920-1933). Although offences against the person



remained the most likely offence to be reported as taking place in the public space, the proportion of reports about crime in public spaces declined. This shift in reporting meant that offences against the person, in particular assaults, were more likely to be reported as occurring in a domestic space, than in the public open space. Whilst declining in representation over the period, offences against the person were both the most likely crime to be reported as occurring in a public space, and also received more extensive coverage.

Table 10 (Annex) shows the proportion of total newspaper crime reportage concerned with offences that had been reported as taking place in a domestic setting. The table illustrates that roughly a fifth of all reported crimes took place in a domestic setting, with 23.5 per cent of all reported crimes between 1900 and 1919 taking place in a domestic setting. Throughout most of the newspaper's publication, the majority of crimes reported in a domestic setting took place in London. However, between 1920 and 1933 crimes outside of London were two times more likely to have taken place in a domestic setting. The main offence that was reported as taking place in domestic spaces was violent assaults or murder between family members. Thereafter, the next most likely crime to take place in this space was offences against property, not including violence. The increased number of 'Miscellaneous' offences reported as taking place in domestic spaces between 1880 and 1919 was the result of the increased number of reports about the neglect of children.

Some crimes committed in domestic settings were presented more sympathetically than other offences reported in the *IPN*. This was evident in the language used in report headlines. The word 'tragedy' was used only to describe cases of murder or attempted murders that were predominantly committed in domestic spaces. Such reports were not limited to London and could be reported from across the country, including a 'Sordid tragedy in Hull: Young married woman killed and her brother-in-law arrested', a 'Shocking Tragedy at Bridgewater: Verdict of Wilful Murder', the 'Mysterious Ramsgate tragedy: husband cuts his own and his wife's throat, and blows up the house', and a

‘Cottage tragedy: jealous man’s grim deed, victim of years delusions’.<sup>64</sup> ‘Shocking’ was another adjective used in the headlines to describe murders predominantly committed in a domestic environment, although it could also be used to describe cases of neglect and cruelty to children. Headlines included ‘Shocking Neglect of Children’, multiple ‘Shocking Tragedies’, and a ‘Shocking Tale of Cruelty told by Children of their Mother’.<sup>65</sup> There were very few offences described as ‘shocking’ in the headlines that did not take place in a domestic setting between people already known to each other.

Table 11 (Annex) shows the proportion of total newspaper crime reportage concerned with offences taking place in commercial spaces. The table highlights the increasing newspaper representation of offences taking place in the commercial spaces – from 7.5 per cent of newspaper crime reporting (1867-1879) to 17.9 per cent (1920s-1930s). As might be expected, the overwhelming majority of commercial crimes reported concerned property crimes not involving violence - such as obtaining money and goods by false pretences. Furthermore such offences were more likely to be reported from London. The reports about these offences were much smaller in size, and did not excite extensive coverage unless there were sensational, interesting, or amusing features of the case. This was discussed in the chapter on illustrations, which noted that unless a property crime not involving violence possessed unlikely features, such as the exciting chase and capture of the perpetrator, it was unlikely to be depicted.

Table 13 (Annex) shows the proportion of reports in the *IPN* where crimes were reported as taking place on a form of transport, showing a breakdown by offences. Modes of transport could include ships, railway carriages and stations, and motorcars. As the table highlights, reporting of offences committed on transport was sporadic, with a particular

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<sup>64</sup>*The IPN*, 4 September 1909, p. 2; *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p. 2; *The IPN*, 7 March 1903, p. 2; *The IPN*, 2 March 1903, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup>*The IPN*, 5 September 1885, p.4; *The IPN*, 5 September 1892, p. 2; *The IPN*, 5 September 1903, p. 13.

spike in the proportion of reports between 1880 and 1897. This can almost entirely be attributed to an increase of reports about crimes on railways in March and September 1897 in the wake of Elizabeth Camp's murder on the 11 February 1897. The reporting of violent crimes occurring on the railways was not a constant or staple feature of the *IPN*'s reporting, or a constant moral panic. Instead it was key events and crimes, such as Elizabeth Camp's murder, which brought these unsolved concerns to the fore. After Camp's murder the *IPN* reported 'more railway outrages', and 'another railway mystery', and Elizabeth's fate was referenced in these accounts. This echoed the style of moral panics whereby the first crime was referenced in all future reporting.

Although not a statistically significant proportion of the reporting, the hyperbolic language employed in these reports meant that violence on the railways was the closest thing to a 'moral panic' reported in the samples of the *IPN* studied. The *IPN*, like a number of other newspapers, depended upon sensational stories to sell copies, and tales of crimes on railways offered many opportunities for this. In its reporting of crimes taking place in railway carriages, the *IPN* differed very little from the reporting style of the nineteenth-century newspaper. Like a number of national and provincial newspapers of the period, when the crimes reported on the railways were violent, the *IPN*'s headlines made the most of it. Assaults and attempted murders on the railways were described as 'outrages', 'terrible', 'serious', 'desperate', and 'mysterious'. Figure 6.1 shows the illustration of a train robbery, with the outrage described in the subheading.<sup>66</sup> Robin Barrow's study of rape on the railway demonstrated the use of similar adjectives in newspaper headlines of the 1860s, including 'horrible', 'desperate', 'extraordinary', 'strange', 'mysterious', and

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<sup>66</sup> 'More railway outrages: Alleged attempt to murder on the G.W.R', *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p.8; 'Outrage and Robbery in a train', *The IPN*, 6 March 1909, p. 4; 'The terrible railway tragedy: No Clue', *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p. 4; 'Serious charge of assault on a young girl against a railway guard', *The IPN*, 4 September 1897, p. 10; 'Another railway mystery: A woman makes a desperate leap', *The IPN*, 4 September 1897, p. 10; 'Mysterious Affair on Brighton Line', *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p. 8.

‘fearful’, suggesting continuity in the reporting styles of railway crime in the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

It was the specific characteristics of the railway carriage space and the opportunities this offered women to independently and actively engage with strangers in public, which created the concerns. These worries about lone female travellers were emphasised in the reporting. In a report about a further railway outrage in the aftermath of the murder of Elizabeth Camp readers were told that ‘on investigation the case does not appear to be as serious as first reported, but it unquestionably emphasises the danger in which the compartment system in railway carriages exposes females when travelling without more than one companion’.<sup>68</sup> The *IPN* here can be shown to be transmitting a moral panic. It reported the presence of a condition about which people felt threatened and anxious, added an element of moral indignation, in turn suggesting to readers to feel that something ought to be done about the panic.<sup>69</sup> Such was the thought that something ought to be done that there was even the inclusion of letters printed in the newspaper, including one announcement from the Board of Trade, which sought to allay readers’ fears and demonstrate the changes that had been made to the railway in order to increase the safety of passengers, with ‘some of the companies bringing corridor trains to use and....others building saloon carriages in the place of those in the old pattern’.<sup>70</sup>

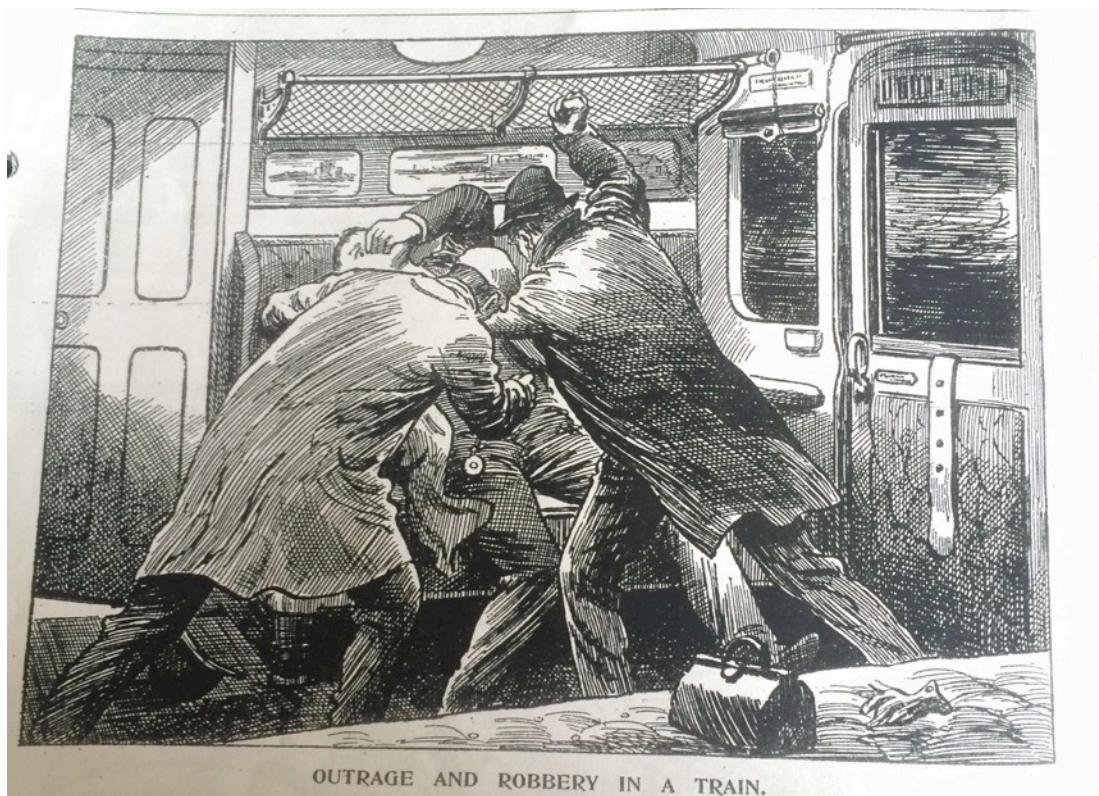
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<sup>67</sup> Robin Barrow, ‘Rape on the Railway: Women, Safety, and Moral Panic in Victorian Newspapers’, *Journal of Victorian Culture* (2015), p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> *The Manufacture of news. Deviance, social problems, and the Mass Media*, p.433

<sup>70</sup> *The IPN*, 6 March 1897, p. 4.



**Figure 6.1:** *The IPN*, 6 March 1909, p. 4.

### **Crimes from abroad**

Foreign crime reported by the *IPN* sought to reinforce the idea of Britain as a more civilised society. This further supports the arguments presented in chapter 2 on illustration, which showed that images of execution and the distribution of justice in foreign countries were used to both satisfy reader curiosity but also to further reinforce the image of Britain as a more civilised society. The offences reported were largely limited to murder and violent assaults, or, riots, and mobs violence and plundering. For a period in the 1920s, the most sensational crime from abroad was illustrated on a weekly basis, and the entire illustration on page five was given to these illustrations (seen in figure 6.3, figure 6.4 and figure 6.5 below). Of the crimes reported, those which received most coverage were murder and assault. These reports highlighted the savage and brutal behaviour of these criminals (figure 6.2). These illustrations and their accompanying reports depicted the criminals as sub-human animals.



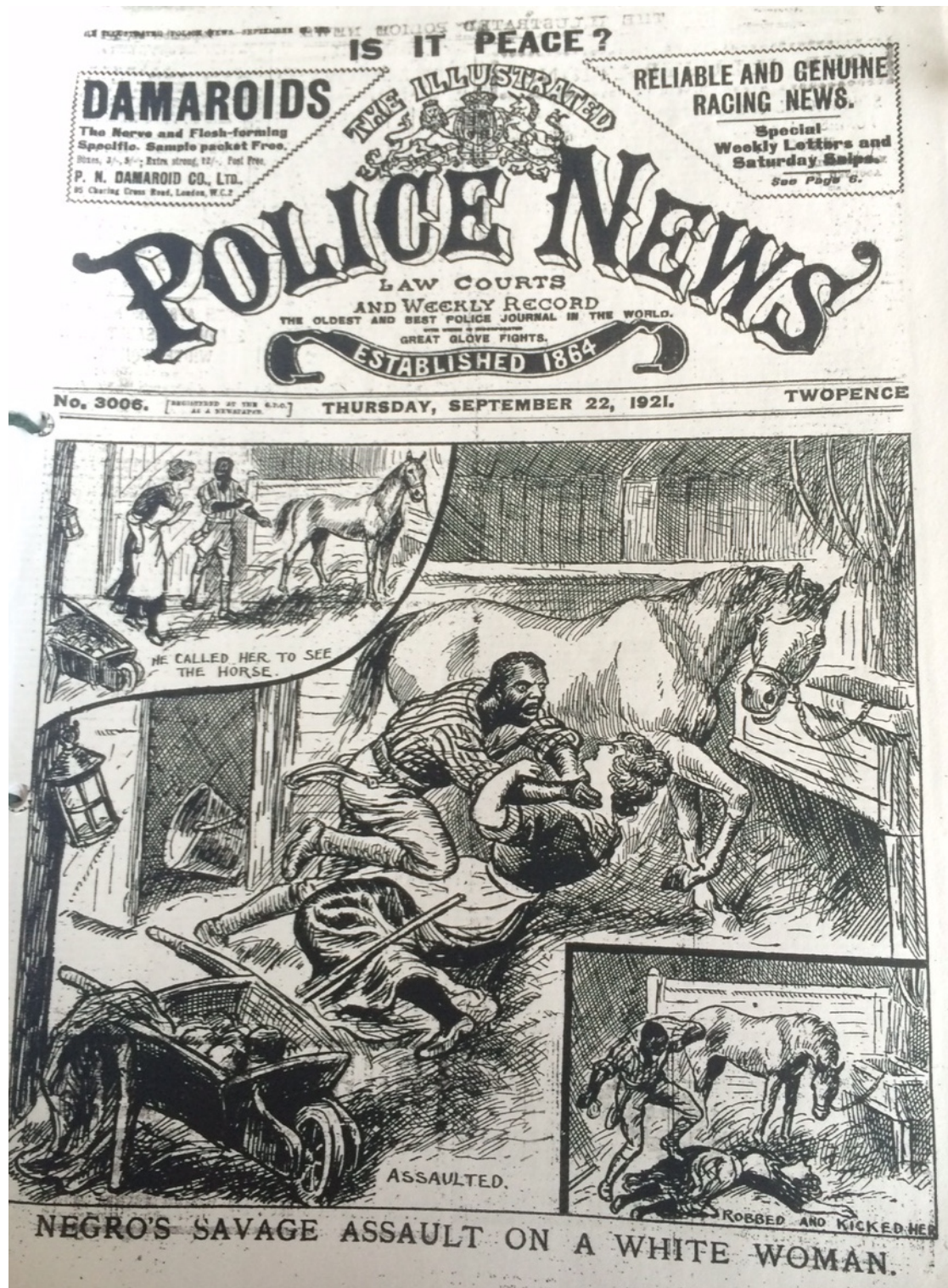


Figure 6.2: *The IPN*, 22 September 1921, p. 1.



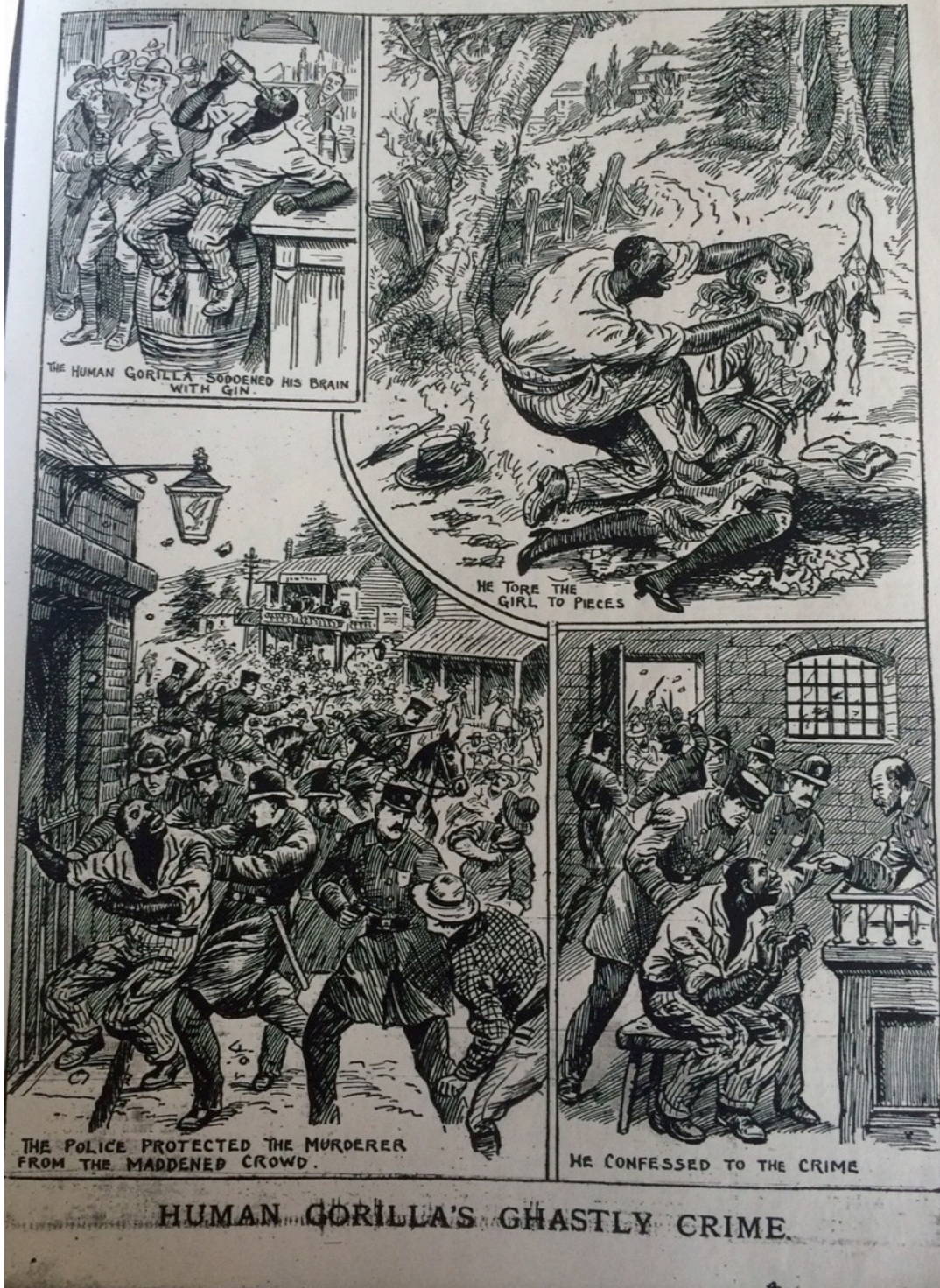


Figure 6.3: *The IPN*, 24 March 1921, p. 5.

In addition to the brutal behaviour of criminals, the violent and uncivilised nature of foreign justice systems could sometimes be suggested. The reporting of crime from Britain was largely constructed from court reporting, which in turn helped to legitimise the law

and legal systems. However, representations of foreign courts and justice processes were largely absent in the *IPN*'s reporting. The majority of punishments reported as occurring outside of the country were retributive justice and execution. This was explored in the chapter on illustration, which showed how the newspaper satisfied reader fascination with the spectacle of execution in the twentieth century by continuing to print images and reports of foreign executions. This included retributive justice such as the lynching of a man accused of assaulting a young girl in Rogersville, Ohio, USA (6 September 1873). Scenes from the streets showed that the mob had procured wine and passed the rest of the night carousing.

New York crimes reported tended to focus on property crime, such as fraud (6 September 1873), or more prominently property crime with violence. Such cases included robbery from the person with violence, on the New York Central Railroad (5 March 1892), or more alarmingly, the depiction of New York 'crook gangs' (figure 6.4). The written report accompanying this image, composed from a cable from the "Weekly Dispatch", reports the widespread problem of these 'ruffianly chauffeurs'. Such was the problem, according to the report, that 'for months past it has been unsafe for any attractive, or well-dressed woman to travel alone in a taxi cab'.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *The IPN*, 31 March 1921, p. 2.



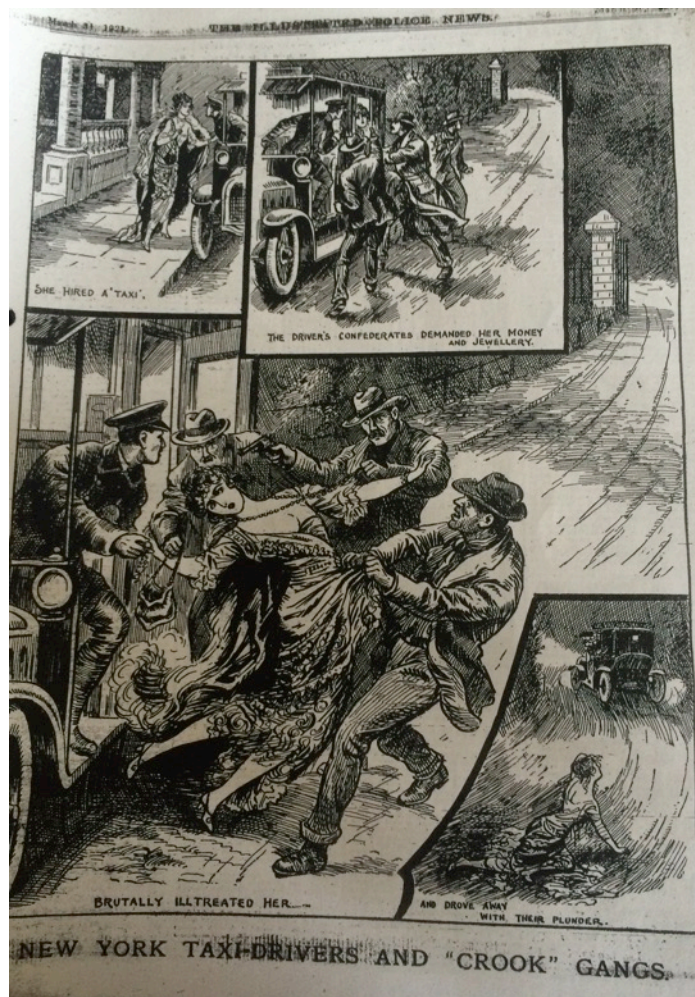


Figure 6.4: *The IPN*, 31 March 1921, p. 5.

European crimes, such as those in Paris and Milan, tended to be cast as ‘crimes of passion’, showing characters from these countries to be more hot-headed than their British counterparts. Other crimes reported from Paris and France could include a number of mob riots and violence. This included a reporting of over eighty robberies, forgeries, and indecent assaults on the outskirts of Paris on 1 March 1873, or the detailed coverage of ‘French Peasants’ Ghastly Crime’ (figure 6.5). The below illustration, whilst featured in the *IPN* in 1921, was in fact depicting an event which had taken place in the village of Vadelicourt, near Compiègne, during the German advance in 1914 (nearly seven years prior to the illustration). This representation of mob justice – the crucifixion and burning alive of a youth suspected to be guilty of arson – shows the extreme violence of French peasants. The decision to print an image of an event that had occurred seven years ago,



suggests that the newspaper was attempting to use old news to satisfy reader interest in these violent foreign crimes.

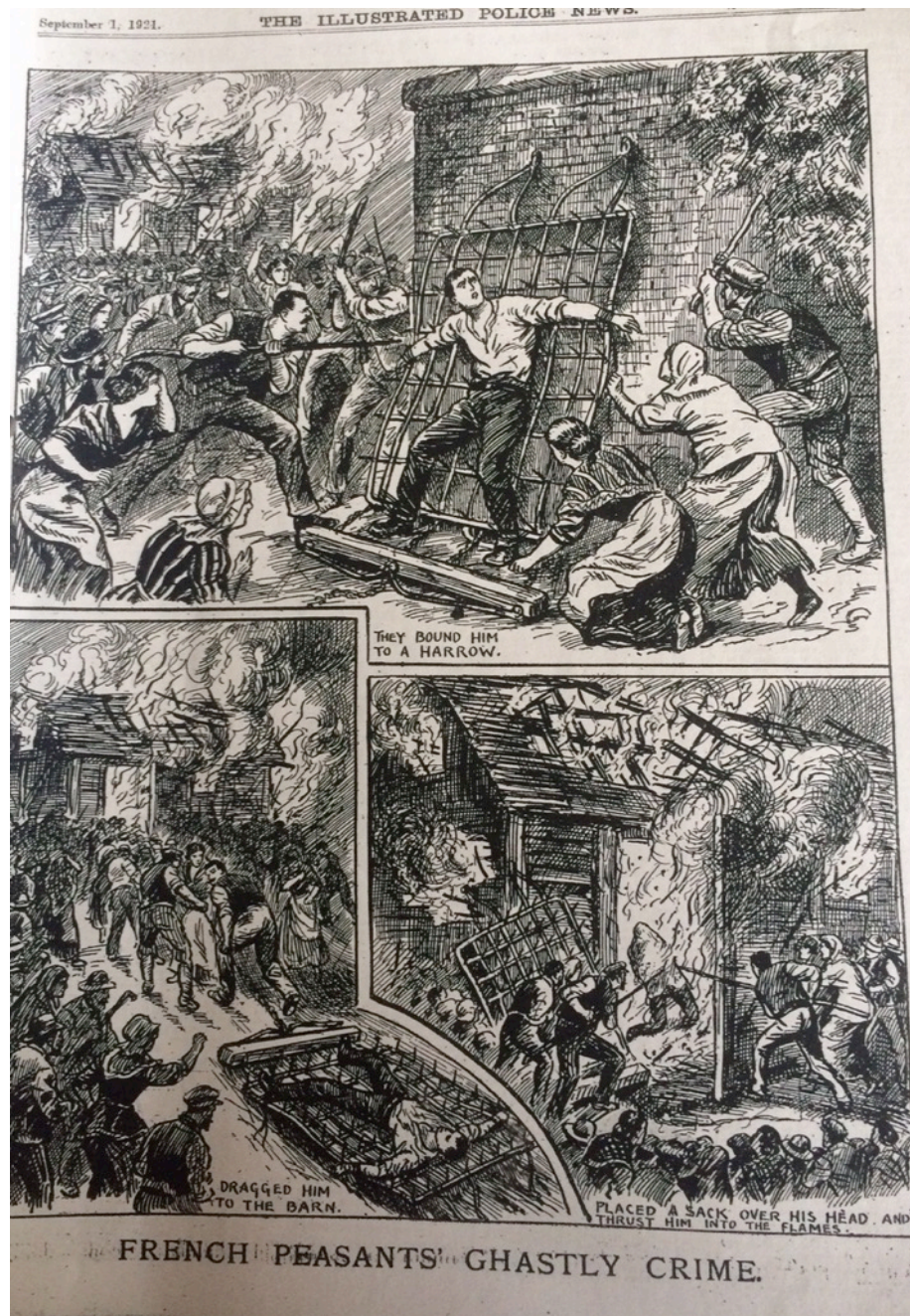


Figure 6.5: *The IPN*, 1 September 1921, p. 5.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown that location and space were of central importance in the *IPN*'s depiction of crime, justice, and punishment. The chapter has once again shown that the existing narratives of a changing popular culture and changing perceptions of crime are problematic. The chapter has shown that the representation of location was largely a story of continuity. Whilst declining slightly over the period, crime reports from London continued to proliferate. That the main content of crime reporting was derived from London is no surprise; the *IPN* was a London newspaper, the capital city had a much larger population than other cities, and the large number of Police Courts provided maximum opportunity for immediate coverage. This was driven both by reader demand and availability of information, since the newspaper was very easily able to obtain information from police courts. These images of London crime did not create fears about a city out of control, or use the same rhetoric as some of the contemporaries from the late nineteenth century. In addition to London, other cities most likely to be the subject of crime reporting were: Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester. This may have reflected higher instances of crime in these areas, but instead, this was again more likely to be dictated by commercial viability (appealing to readers in these cities who liked to read about local crimes) and feasibility (the ability to gather news quickly and effortlessly from the provincial newspapers of these cities).

Despite the dominance of London and urban areas in the reporting, the *IPN* would publish articles about murders from around the country, regardless of location. The offences that received the widest geographical and spatial coverage related to violence against the person - notably murder and assaults - although it should be noted that such offences rarely took place in commercial spaces. However, over the time period there was a change in the spaces in which offences against the person were reported as occurring, from reports of it occurring in public and entertainment spaces towards more domestic representations.

Moreover, whilst the newspaper presented some crimes as more likely to occur in certain locations, and very occasionally focused on offences and locations that reinforced contemporary concerns, overall the newspaper rarely presented crime as threatening social order or civilisation.

This chapter further supports the argument that the *IPN*'s content was largely shaped by the newspaper's template. There were different types of reports within the *IPN* – longer articles, which focused upon more sensational crimes and the shorter reports driven by Police Intelligence. These differing reports transmitted different information about crime and its locations. The content of crime reporting was largely driven by court reporting, and as seen in previous chapters, rarely questioned the legitimacy of these courts. Despite the continuities in the spatial representation of crime, there were a number of changes that were largely the result of the changing newspaper structure. There were a declining number of reports about crimes in urban cities from the 1880s onwards, owing to the smaller number of small news items required. Before this, the newspaper printed 'Everybody's Column', a column which contained a large number of reports densely printed together. However, following the introduction of a number of changes associated with New Journalism, including the reduction in size of the newspaper columns, and the increased use of white space and subheadings, the same quantities of small 'filler' news items were no longer required. Similarly, the chapter also showed how once again the First World War had an impact upon the reporting and presentation of crime. There was a large decrease in both the number of crimes reported and the reports of violent crime specifically, with the decrease in reports of London crime particularly noticeable.

The spatial descriptions of crime could occasionally reflect existing fears, and these fears shifted over time. In the 1880s, the coverage of crimes on the railway, and in particular attempted 'outrages' against women in railway carriages was unusually high. Similarly,

twentieth-century newspaper representations of space also reflected wider concerns – with the focus this time upon ‘alien criminals’. The increased reporting and illustration of ‘crimes from abroad’, reflected the contemporary perceptions of criminality, which were deeply associated with the fear of ‘otherness’. Additionally, these depictions of crimes from abroad operated in the same way as depictions of foreign executions in the 1920s – providing readers with a safe and non-threatening, and above all, exciting form of entertainment.

## CONCLUSION

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### **Re-evaluating Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century print culture**

The thesis has shown that within the *Illustrated Police News (IPN)* there was a survival of forms and practices that historians have previously argued disappeared between 1870 and 1900, or at the very least were relegated to the margins. The *IPN*, as evidence presented in this thesis has shown, was not marginal. Whilst there are very few reader reactions recorded, the longevity of the newspaper, in addition to its reported circulation figures, suggest that the content within the newspaper found favour with a large number of readers. Various competitors, notably the *Illustrated Police Budget* stopped publishing in 1910, instead moving on to publish under the title of the *Illustrated Sporting Budget and Boxing Record* between 23 April 1910, before changing name to the *Sporting Record* between 13 August 1912 and 19 November 1912. The *Illustrated Police News* did not move to a sole coverage of sporting events until 1938, meaning that for over twenty years the newspaper was almost the sole repository for illustrated crime news. Both nineteenth-century critics of the newspaper and twentieth-century Select Committees expressed concerns about the influence of the newspaper upon its working-class readers, which also suggests that the newspaper had both a wide readership and a perceived power or influence. The content of the newspaper also supports the notion that the *IPN* was not marginal. Whilst there was a large proportion of crime and sensational content, the *IPN's* template was still influenced by the same pressures as other popular newspapers, in particular the First World War.

This thesis has demonstrated that the evolution of the *IPN* was not a simple story of change or the removal and displacement of crime material. There were a number of important

continuities and old and new types of journalism ran in tandem in the newspaper. The implications of this finding are two-fold, and will be explored in this conclusion. First, with respect to our understanding of nineteenth and twentieth-century newspapers, and by extension print and popular culture. Second with respect to our understanding of crime reporting in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Many social and cultural historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century have argued that 1870 was a turning-point in print and popular culture. These historians, including John Carter Wood, have argued that by this period popular culture had been tamed, and violence had largely been removed from popular entertainment. By 1870 much of the cheap street literature and penny bloods had disappeared, and newspapers had largely replaced broadsides, offering readers the latest detailed news supplied by an increasingly professional corps of journalists. According to V.A.C. Gatrell, the abolition of public execution in 1868 was a ‘civilising’ moment, which not only ended an age-old plebeian festival but also resulted in the decline of the broadside and the removal of others’ miseries from view.<sup>1</sup> Alongside the decline of these older print cultures, historians, including Alan Lee, have shown the emergence of the ‘golden age’ of the penny press in the 1850s and 1860s, which was overtaken by New Journalism and the domination of profit in the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>2</sup> In particular, New Journalism has been previously described by some historians as the introduction of a number of key changes in the newspaper press that marked a break with the past, including an altered visual appearance, changes in content, less space for leaders, a brighter style, shorter articles, and above all an increased commercialisation.

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<sup>1</sup>V.A.C Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English, 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.589-590.

<sup>2</sup> Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

This thesis has shown that the *IPN* underwent a number of the changes associated with New Journalism in the 1890s. After the death of the newspaper's proprietor, George Purkess, in 1892, the influence of the earlier forms of print culture became less visible. There was an almost complete removal of advertisements for crime publications and other popular literature, many of which were penny publications printed by Purkess himself. This reduced the link between the *IPN* and the earlier broadside publications, which focused upon the life, trial and execution of the accused. Alongside the declining amount of popular literature advertised in the newspaper, the importance of the celebrity criminal declined in the *IPN*. These changes were in part a response to the rise of the popular daily press with photographs, which allowed readers to be instantly presented with details of these cases. There were also a number of changes in the 1890s that have traditionally been ascribed to New Journalism. In this period the newspaper began to experiment more with layouts and typefaces, increasing the number of pages of the newspaper at the same time as reducing the page size and number of columns. There was an increased number of pages, more white space, and the content of the newspaper was more clearly divided, allowing readers to more easily access the sections that interested them rather than having to read the whole newspaper. In addition to these changes, there was also an expansion of the newspaper content, in particular sports reporting. The increased physical size and pagination of the newspaper meant that there was more of everything, and one form did not simply replace another. There was an increased focus upon sports and the newspaper began to print a weekly form guide, providing betting tips to readers. These changes, in addition to the changing status and classification of the newspaper within the advertising handbooks – moving from being classified as a weekly *newspaper* to a *magazine* – showed the influence of expanding popular entertainments upon the content of the *IPN*.

However, this thesis has shown that the story of change told by historians of nineteenth and twentieth-century popular culture is too neat. What the thesis has demonstrated is that



these changes did not simply tell a story of the removal or displacement of crime material. Instead, there was a repackaging of these older representations, and in many cases the newspaper underwent a number of changes in order to facilitate continuity. The newspaper continued to print woodcut illustrations, even after other popular newspapers introduced photographs. The continued use of woodcuts suggests that this was an economically viable option – that the *IPN* was still able to attract purchasers after the introduction of the photograph. Moreover, whilst 1868 was described by V.A.C. Gatrell as a ‘civilising’ moment, in which execution broadsides lost their potency, the *IPN* continued to illustrate English executions up until the 1920s. Even after the 1920s execution scenes did not completely disappear from the pages of the *IPN* altogether. Instead, scenes of violent retribution – administered either by the common people or by the law – were relocated to foreign countries. This repackaging of graphic depictions of violence and punishment suggests that whilst its readers wanted to create a distance between their own ‘civilised’ society and this extreme violence, when consumed from a distance such subjects still appealed to reader interest and were considered economically viable. The continued representation of execution suggests that despite the decline of broadsides, interest in capital punishment, especially images of execution, persisted, and the *IPN* filled the gap left by these older publications. This broadside influence could also be found in the representation of criminal celebrities and the subsequent spin off publications, practices which continued until the 1890s. In keeping with the genre of nineteenth-century criminal literature, the individuals that received the most newspaper coverage in the *IPN* had been accused of murder, as a result of the possibility of the case ending with the execution of the accused. Second, the structure of both the newspaper reporting and the spin off publications followed the same pattern as that established by the broadsides. Drawing on broadside tradition, there were three elements to the narrative of the criminal celebrity: first, the discovery of the crime and capture of the criminal, second, the trial of the accused, and third, the execution of the accused. This sustained interest in execution and

those accused of murder, combined with the continued dominance of images of violent crime throughout the newspaper's publication history, further supports Rosalind Crone's work on early nineteenth-century violent entertainments. Like her study of popular crime-reporting genres, this thesis has demonstrated that the newspaper's depiction of crime, justice, and punishment can be considered a kind of cultural amoeba – always present in British society, but changing its meaning and shape depending on external pressures.<sup>3</sup>

The increased focus upon sporting form in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century did not mean that sport immediately displaced all crime content. Whilst the proportion of sporting content in the newspaper continued to increase in the newspaper from the 1890s and during the twentieth century, this sporting interest was not replicated in the *IPN*'s illustrations. The proportion of illustrations dedicated to sport was much lower than violent crime or other sensational scenes, even in the years immediately before the transition to a sporting newspaper. Consequently, whilst the introduction of sports coverage in some areas of the newspaper signalled changes in the press, with the introduction of starting price odds and race results for horse-racing showing the influence of a prominent sporting gambling mass-culture, the sports illustrations within the *IPN* provide further evidence of continuity, rather than change. Crime continued to dominate the illustrations, and the very few sporting illustrations that were printed tended to depict boxing matches, which provided readers with similar movement, action, and drama as the depiction of violent crime. The illustration of large crowds of spectators also predominated in these scenes, allowing the continuation of representations of violence and melodrama.

The content of the *IPN* was carefully constructed to a template, which remained the same for an extended period of the newspaper's history. This template was shaped by the

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<sup>3</sup> Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

newspaper's methods of production, the availability of news, and the requirements of the physical space. A significant proportion of this template was devoted to crime content, right up until the newspaper ceased publication in 1938. There was a variety of crime content, from the sensational illustrations and accounts of extreme interpersonal violence, to the reporting of everyday news and cases heard in the police court. Earlier forms of print culture and popular culture, in particular broadsides and street literature, strongly influenced both the content and the style of the template. This was most noticeable in the newspaper's woodcut illustrations, which were featured on the *IPN's* front page, and within the covers of the newspaper from 1894. The importance of newspaper template in dictating the content of the newspaper can be seen in the newspaper's reporting during the First World War. Unlike the Boer War, the First World War dominated the reporting of the newspaper. Column space previously filled with depictions of crime, sensation, and human tragedy were filled with sensational depictions of the human tragedy of war. The First World War had a significant impact upon the reporting of violent offences against the person. During this period the reporting of violent crime declined markedly before returning to pre-war levels in the period 1920-1933. During the years of war, the coverage of British crime was largely replaced by an emphasis on reporting what were (or were claimed to be) German atrocities or 'crimes'. The publication of reports about crime were not only considered inappropriate, but was also considered to not make commercial sense. Whilst the sensational crime content of the newspaper – both written and illustrated – was almost entirely replaced with sensational news and illustrations from the front, the thesis has demonstrated that Police Intelligence, sporting pages, and advertisements did not decline during the same period. This content provided a balance to the sensation and drama of the main reports, not overwhelming readers with more drama and sensational content.

This study of the *IPN*, a newspaper devoted to crime, which straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has contributed to our understanding of crime reporting. The thesis supports Rob Sindall's work on street violence, showing that there was no firm relationship between the quantity of crime news reported in the *IPN* and the amount of crime reflected in the official crime statistics – the most shocking, yet statistically insignificant crimes tended to be most represented in the longest narratives.<sup>4</sup> These 'template narratives' adopted by the newspaper mirrored the language, narrative, plot and melodrama which was employed by fiction.<sup>5</sup> Despite the newspaper's reputation for sensation, news reports did not exclusively focus upon inter-personal violence or murder, and a series of more mundane and everyday crimes were also reported. Police Intelligence continued to feature in the *Illustrated Police News* throughout the publication life of the newspaper. It continued to occupy a page in the newspaper into the twentieth century, even after other popular London newspapers ceased to publish news from the metropolitan police courts in this format. Historians of crime reporting have suggested that police court reporting virtually disappeared from twentieth-century London newspapers.<sup>6</sup> Whilst the number of police court reports printed by the *IPN* declined after 1885, they did not disappear completely. The proportion and position of these reports remained constant between 1885 and 1921, at which time the number of police court reports printed in the newspaper increased, along with their proportion of the newspaper. Even during the First World War, when news items about events on the Front almost completely replaced all other crime reports in the *IPN*, police intelligence kept the same levels of reporting as pre-war.

Given its status as a London newspaper, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of crimes reported in the *IPN* throughout the whole period were committed in London. In

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<sup>4</sup> Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century : Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990). P. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Stanko, "Headlines from History: Violence in the Press, 1850-1914," *The Meanings of Violence*, eds. John Archer and Jo Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Jennifer Davis, 'A Poor Man's System of Justice: The London Police Courts in the second half of the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, June 1984, vol 27 issue 2, 309-335, p. 334.

addition to the greater frequency of London crime reporting, there was a much wider range of offences reported as taking place in the capital city. To gain coverage outside of urban areas, crimes tended to be reported only if they were sensational, interesting or amusing. However, there was a clear shift in the reporting of the spaces in which certain crimes took place.

Reports of indictable offences, from the higher courts, whilst employing hyperbole and sensation, similarly did not seek to create anxieties or moral panics. These illustrations and written reports were largely woven into a set narrative, resulting in the punishment of the offender, and the restoration of justice. The newspaper's coverage of the 'railway outrages' in the 1890s failed to generate a moral panic, even after its use of alarmist language. However varied these accounts of crime were, they hardly ever challenged the authority of the law, and very rarely did they seek to create fear and panic. There were very few unsolved crimes throughout the whole period, and the majority of 'crime reports' within the *IPN* were based upon court reporting from the magistrates and assize courts. This privileged the voice of the justice system, and where possible, the reporting concluded with the conclusion of the case and retribution of justice. The police court reports employed very little hyperbolic language, and were much shorter in length. Throughout the period in question, such reports never challenged the decisions of the magistrates. Very few of the reports concerned cases that were either dismissed or discharged, and the 'fairness' of police court decisions were rarely explored within these reports. Before 1897 the most likely outcome of the cases reported in the Police Court reports was the remand or committal of the prisoner for trial in a higher court, although this did not create the same uncertainty as that identified by Peter King and Esther Snell in their study of eighteenth-century news reporting. As a result of the expansion of summary justice in the late nineteenth century, from 1897, the most likely resolution of these cases was imprisonment of the offender, meaning that readers were provided with a conclusion to the cases.

Alongside the more serious accounts from the Police Courts, police court reporting could also contain humorous stories, either about unusual crimes, or more likely about comic scenes in the courtroom that often showcased the wit of the judge.

Although it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions about the impact of this reporting on deeper issues such as how readers of the *IPN* thought about the occurrence of crime or the legitimacy, fairness, and helpfulness of different parts of the criminal justice system, it is clear that the primary function of the *IPN* was to entertain. Despite the expanding content of the *IPN* in the twentieth century, the main intention remained the same: to entertain readers and to sell as many copies as possible, as identified in Richard Altick's *Victorian Studies in Scarlet*.<sup>7</sup> The primary function of the newspaper's illustrations was entertainment, and this remained the main priority throughout the newspaper's publication history. The subject of these illustrations, in particular the continued preference for violent crime and sensational accidents and natural disasters, suggests that spectacle continued to be a source of entertainment. Whether depicting murder, a ferocious fire, or a tragic suicide, there was a continued emphasis upon drama, action, and spectacle. Readers were encouraged to participate in the drama of the crime, in the case of 'criminal celebrities', to follow the developments in the story. Many of these representations of crime, particularly those accompanying the front-page illustrations, were 'sensational'.

Despite these difficulties and nuances, one can establish a few firm conclusions. Stories about crime, justice, and punishment continued to form an important part of the content of the *IPN*, right up until the newspaper ceased publication. In general this crime news continued to be dominated by police and court-centred sources, rarely challenging the established justice system. Finally, whilst the *IPN* underwent a number of changes throughout the course of its publication history, these changes occurred alongside a

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<sup>7</sup> Richard Altick, *Victorian Studies in Scarlet*., p. 9.

number of continuities, showing that both old and new forms of print culture could exist alongside each other, or even that new forms of print culture could sustain older traditions.

If this thesis has argued that the story of the *IPN* is one of continuity, what happened in 1938 to trigger the change of the newspaper from the *Illustrated Police News* to the *Sporting Record*? The end of the newspaper based on crime news and the subsequent move to a newspaper focused upon betting, gambling, and sporting form does not necessarily mean that a working-class interest in the representation of crime completely disappeared. Instead of a declining interest in crime and violence, the *IPN* was no longer able to compete with the crime reporting and news that was located in the mainstream daily press. This was particularly the case following the introduction of the photograph and the large increase in the number of working classes purchasing daily newspapers. The emergence of the *Sporting Record* was yet another example of the newspaper's ability to change, and adapt in order to maintain a 'unique selling point' and continue to appeal to working-class readers and leisure practices.

## APPENDIX

List of maps and tables:

### Environment

Figure 1: All crime reports featured in the IPN 1867-1933, categorised by decade

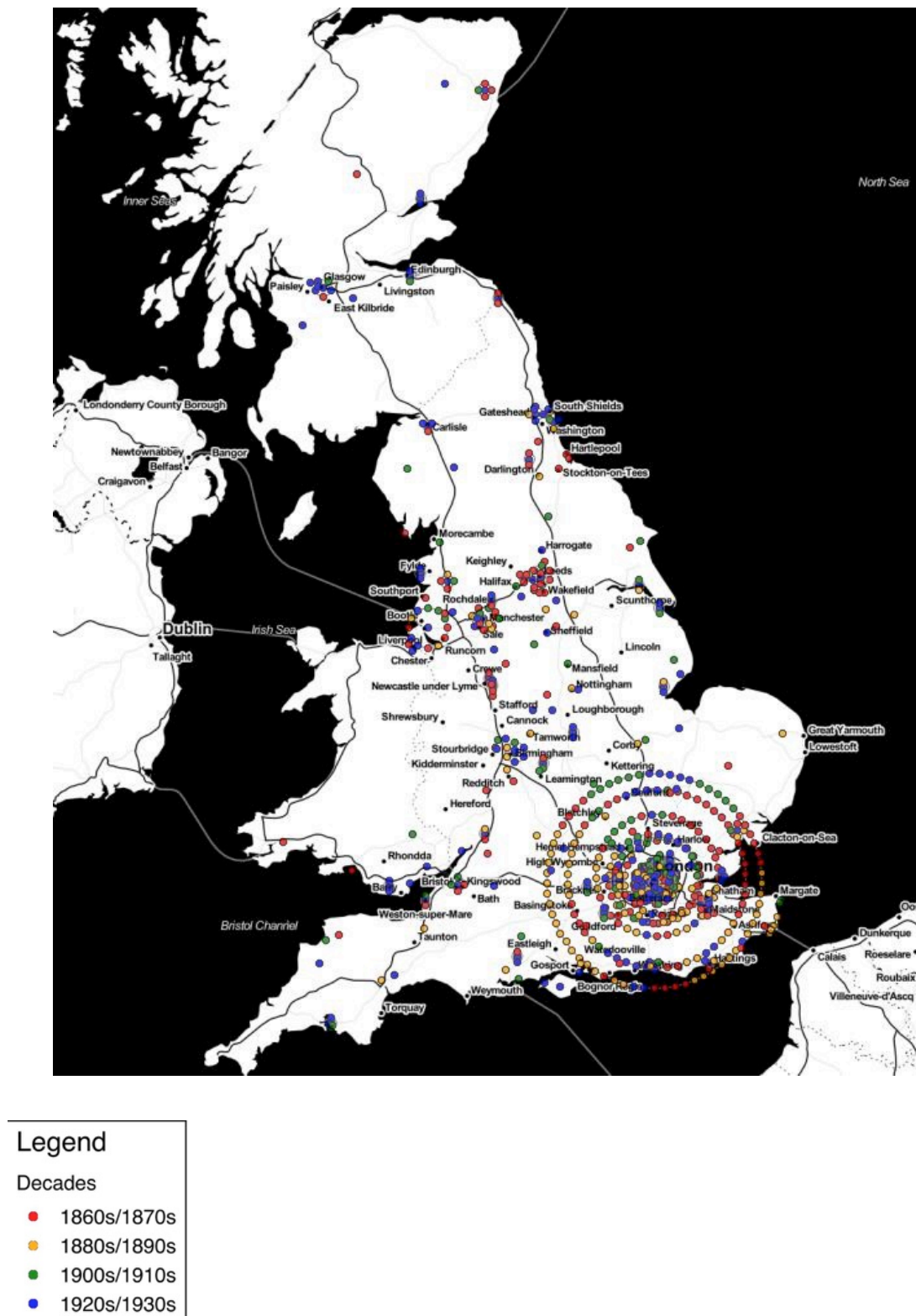




Figure 2: Distribution of crimes reported in the IPN, categorised by offence, 1860s-1870s



### Legend

#### Offences

- Malicious Offences against property
- Miscellaneous
- Offences against currency
- Offences against property involving violence
- Offences against property not involving violence
- Offences against the person

Figure 3: Distribution of crimes reported in the IPN, categorised by offence, 1880s-1890s



### Legend

#### Offences

- Malicious Offences against property
- Miscellaneous
- Offences against currency
- Offences against property involving violence
- Offences against property not involving violence
- Offences against the person

Figure 4: Distribution of crimes reported in the IPN, categorised by offence, 1900s-1910s



### Legend

#### Offences

- Malicious Offences against property
- Miscellaneous
- Offences against currency
- Offences against property involving violence
- Offences against property not involving violence
- Offences against the person

Figure 4: Distribution of crimes reported in the IPN, categorised by offence, 1920s-1930s



### Legend

#### Offences

- Malicious Offences against property
- Miscellaneous
- Offences against currency
- Offences against property involving violence
- Offences against property not involving violence
- Offences against the person

## Offences

**Table 1: The proportion of offences (by category) in the IPN's crime reporting, comparing London to non-London reports, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	39.8	21.6	18.3	32.9	22.5	10.3	25.5	12.8	12.8	32.9	12.1	20.8
Offences against property involving violence	11.2	6.6	4.6	12.2	9.4	2.8	17.4	14.1	3.4	9.7	5.8	3.9
Offences against property not involving violence	22.4	17.4	5.0	18.3	16.0	2.3	24.8	18.8	6.0	29.0	20.8	8.2
Malicious Offences Against Property	4.6	3.3	1.2	4.2	4.2	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.9	1.0	1.9
Offences against currency	3.7	2.9	0.8	5.6	4.7	0.9	2.0	1.3	0.7	3.9	2.9	1.0
Miscellaneous	18.3	14.1	4.1	26.8	23.0	3.8	27.5	23.5	4.0	21.7	14.5	7.2
Total	100.0	66.0	34.0	100.0	79.8	20.2	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	57.0	43.0

**Table 1 a) The number of offences reported by the IPN, 1867-1933**

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1860s/1870s</i>	<i>1880s/1890s</i>	<i>1900s/1910s</i>	<i>1920s/1930s</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
Offences against the person	96	70	38	68	272
Offences against property not involving violence	56	41	35	61	193
Miscellaneous	46	57	41	45	189
Offences against property involving violence	26	23	24	22	95
Offences against currency	9	12	3	8	32
Malicious Offences against property	9	9	4	7	29
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>810</b>

**Table 1 b) The columns of offences reported by the IPN, 1867-1933**

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1860s/1870s</i>	<i>1880s/1890s</i>	<i>1900s/1910s</i>	<i>1920s/1930s</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
<i>Offences against the person</i>	12.6	17.44	14.95	13.78	58.77
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	2.57	9.68	11.14	5.49	28.88
<i>Offences against property not involving violence</i>	6.49	6.21	7.89	7.53	28.12
<i>Offences against property involving violence</i>	2.77	4.95	8.91	4.18	20.81
<i>Offences against currency</i>	0.54	1.43	1	1.8	4.77
<i>Malicious Offences against property</i>	0.8	1.55	0.75	1.16	4.26
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>25.77</b>	<b>41.26</b>	<b>45.31</b>	<b>33.94</b>	<b>146.28</b>

**Table 2: Offences against the person: Proportion of total crime reporting, including spaces and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	16.2	11.2	5.0	10.3	7.0	3.3	3.4	1.3	2.0	6.3	3.4	2.9
Domestic	7.5	4.6	2.9	10.8	8.5	2.3	8.1	4.0	4.0	9.2	3.9	5.3
Commercial	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.5
Entertainment	2.5	2.1	0.4	2.8	2.3	0.5	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.4	1.0	1.4
Transport	0.4	0.4	0.0	4.7	2.3	2.3	2.0	0.7	1.3	1.9	0.5	1.4
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	2.9	0.5	2.4
Not specified	13.3	3.3	10.0	3.8	1.9	1.9	6.7	3.4	3.4	9.7	2.9	6.8
Total	39.8	21.6	18.3	32.9	22.5	10.3	25.5	12.8	12.8	32.9	12.1	20.8

**Table 3: Offences against property committed with violence: Proportion of total crime reporting, including spaces and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	4.1	2.1	2.1	3.8	3.3	0.5	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.4	1.0	1.4
Domestic	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	7.4	6.7	0.7	2.9	1.4	1.4
Commercial	2.5	1.7	0.8	2.3	0.5	1.9	2.0	2.0	0.0	3.9	3.4	0.5
Entertainment	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Transport	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.9	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	1.2	1.2	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not specified	1.7	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	11.2	6.6	4.6	12.2	9.4	2.8	17.4	14.1	3.4	9.7	5.8	3.9



**Table 4: Offences Against Property committed without violence - proportion of total crime reporting, including spaces and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	2.9	2.9	0.0	6.6	6.6	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	1.9	1.4	0.5
Domestic	3.7	2.9	0.8	1.4	0.9	0.5	2.0	2.0	0.0	5.3	0.5	4.8
Commercial	5.8	4.6	1.2	4.2	3.3	0.9	4.7	2.0	2.7	12.1	11.6	0.5
Entertainment	2.9	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0
Transport	1.7	1.2	0.4	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Not specified	5.4	4.1	1.2	3.8	2.8	0.9	6.0	4.0	2.0	8.2	6.3	1.9
Total	22.4	17.4	5.0	18.3	16.0	2.3	24.8	18.8	6.0	29.0	20.8	8.2

**Table 5: Malicious Offences against property: Proportion of total crime reporting, including spaces and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	1.2	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
Domestic	0.8	0.8	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.5
Commercial	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Not specified	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
Total	4.6	3.3	1.2	4.2	4.2	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.9	1.0	1.9

**Table 6: Offences against the currency - proportion of total crime reporting, including spaces and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
Domestic	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Commercial	0.8	0.8	0.0	1.4	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transport	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not specified	1.2	0.8	0.4	2.8	2.3	0.5	1.3	0.7	0.7	1.9	1.9	0.0
Total	3.7	2.9	0.8	5.6	4.7	0.9	2.0	1.3	0.7	3.9	2.9	1.0

**Table 7: Miscellaneous Offences - proportion of total crime reporting devoted to miscellaneous offences, including spatial and London to non-London comparisons, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	9.1	8.7	0.4	4.7	3.8	0.9	4.7	4.0	0.7	6.8	5.8	1.0
Domestic	2.1	1.7	0.4	9.4	8.5	0.9	4.7	4.7	0.0	3.4	1.4	1.9
Commercial	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	3.4	2.7	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.0
Entertainment	1.7	0.8	0.8	2.8	2.8	0.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
Transport	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
Miscellaneous	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5
Not specified	4.6	2.5	2.1	5.6	3.8	1.9	11.4	8.7	2.7	6.3	4.3	1.9
Total	18.3	14.1	4.1	26.8	23.0	3.8	27.5	23.5	4.0	21.7	14.5	7.2

**Table 8: Categories of space – proportion of total crime reporting in the *IPN*, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Space</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Open Public Spaces	32.0	25.3	6.6	26.8	22.1	4.7	14.1	10.7	3.4	18.8	13.0	5.8
Domestic	19.1	12.9	6.2	24.9	21.1	3.8	23.5	18.1	5.4	21.7	7.2	14.5
Commercial	7.5	5.8	1.7	11.3	8.0	3.3	12.1	8.1	4.0	17.9	15.5	2.4
Entertainment	8.7	5.8	2.9	7.5	7.0	0.5	8.1	6.7	1.3	4.8	2.9	1.9
Transport	3.3	2.5	0.8	10.8	8.0	2.8	6.0	3.4	2.7	4.8	1.9	2.9
Miscellaneous	2.9	2.5	0.4	2.8	2.8	0.0	8.7	7.4	1.3	4.8	1.0	3.9
Not specified	26.6	11.2	15.4	16.0	10.8	5.2	27.5	18.1	9.4	27.1	15.5	11.6
Total	100.0	66.0	34.0	100.0	79.8	20.2	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	57.0	43.0

**Table 8 a) Categories of space – number of reports, 1867-1938**

<i>Space</i>	<i>1860s/1870s</i>	<i>1880s/1890s</i>	<i>1900s/1910s</i>	<i>1920s/1930s</i>	<i>(blank)</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
<i>(blank)</i>	64	34	41	66		205
<i>Public Open Space</i>	78	53	21	35		187
<i>Domestic</i>	46	57	35	42		180
<i>Commercial</i>	18	24	18	37		97
<i>Entertainment</i>	18	16	12	10		56
<i>Transport</i>	9	22	9	10		50
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	9	6	9	10		34
<i>nullValue</i>				1		1
<i>Grand Total</i>	242	212	145	211		810

**Table 8 b) Categories of space – number of columns reported, 1867-1938**

<i>Space</i>	<i>1860s/1870s</i>	<i>1880s/1890s</i>	<i>1900s/1910s</i>	<i>1920s/1930s</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>
<i>Domestic</i>	4.18	11.1	11.28	10.96	37.52
<i>(blank)</i>	8.89	6.13	14.26	8.11	37.39
<i>Public Open Space</i>	7.83	10.36	4.7	6.31	29.2
<i>Transport</i>	1.86	6.67	4.31	0.95	13.79
<i>Commercial</i>	1.69	3.13	4.1	4.01	12.93
<i>Entertainment</i>	0.56	2.89	4.2	1.57	9.22
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	0.76	0.98	2.46	1.83	6.03
<b><i>Grand Total</i></b>	<b>25.77</b>	<b>41.26</b>	<b>45.31</b>	<b>33.94</b>	<b>146.28</b>

**Table 9: Open Public Spaces – Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed in open public spaces, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	16.2	11.2	5.0	10.8	8.5	2.3	3.4	1.3	2.0	6.3	3.4	2.9
Offences against property involving violence	2.5	1.7	0.8	1.4	1.4	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.4	1.0	1.4
Offences against property not involving violence	2.9	2.9	0.0	1.4	0.9	0.5	3.4	3.4	0.0	1.9	1.4	0.5
Malicious Offences Against Property	1.2	0.8	0.4	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
Offences against currency	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
Miscellaneous	9.1	8.7	0.4	9.4	8.5	0.9	4.7	4.0	0.7	6.8	5.8	1.0
Total	31.9	25.3	6.6	24.9	21.1	3.8	14.1	10.7	3.4	18.8	13.0	5.8



**Table 10: Domestic spaces – Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed in a domestic space, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	7.5	4.6	2.9	10.3	7.0	3.3	8.1	4.0	4.1	9.2	3.9	5.3
Offences against property involving violence	0.4	0.4	0.0	3.8	3.3	0.5	7.4	6.7	0.7	2.9	1.4	1.4
Offences against property not involving violence	3.7	2.9	0.8	6.6	6.6	0.0	2.0	2.0	0	5.3	0.5	4.8
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.5
Offences against currency	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Miscellaneous	2.1	1.7	0.4	4.7	3.8	0.9	4.7	4.7	0	3.4	1.4	1.9
Total	19.1	12.9	6.2	26.8	22.1	4.7	23.5	18.1	5.4	21.7	7.2	14.5

**Table 12: Commercial spaces – Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed in a commercial space, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.5
Offences against property involving violence	2.5	1.7	0.8	2.3	0.5	1.9	2.0	2.0	0.0	3.9	3.4	0.5
Offences against property not involving violence	5.8	4.6	1.2	4.2	3.3	0.9	4.7	2.0	2.7	12.1	11.6	0.5
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against currency	0.8	0.8	0.0	1.4	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	3.4	2.7	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.0
Total	7.5	5.8	1.7	11.3	8.0	3.3	12.1	8.1	4.0	17.9	15.5	2.4

**Table 13: Entertainment spaces – Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed in an entertainment space, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	2.5	2.1	0.4	2.8	2.3	0.5	2.7	2.0	0.7	2.4	1.0	1.4
Offences against property involving violence	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Offences against property not involving violence	2.9	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against currency	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	1.7	0.8	0.8	2.8	2.8	0.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
Total	8.7	5.8	2.9	7.5	7.0	0.5	8.1	6.7	1.3	4.8	2.9	1.9

**Table 14: Transport– Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed on a form of transport, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	0.4	0.4	0.0	4.7	2.3	2.3	2.0	0.7	1.3	1.9	0.5	1.4
Offences against property involving violence	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.9	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against property not involving violence	1.7	1.2	0.4	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against currency	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
Total	3.3	2.5	0.8	10.8	8.0	2.8	6.0	3.4	2.7	4.8	1.9	2.9

**Table 15: Miscellaneous– Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* devoted to crimes committed in a miscellaneous space\*, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	2.9	0.5	2.4
Offences against property involving violence	1.2	1.2	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	2.7	2.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against property not involving violence	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	3.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Offences against currency	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Miscellaneous	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5
Total	2.9	2.5	0.4	2.8	2.8	0.0	8.7	7.4	1.3	4.8	1.0	3.9

\*Largely institutional spaces, including prisons, police stations, schools, workhouses, churches, mental institutions, army barracks and court rooms

**Table 16: No space given– Proportion of the total crime reporting in the *IPN* in which the space in which the crime was committed was not listed, categorised by offence, 1867-1933 (%)**

(T= Total; M= Metropolitan; P= Provincial)

<i>Offence</i>	<i>1867-1879</i>			<i>1880-1899</i>			<i>1900-1919</i>			<i>1920-1933</i>		
	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
Offences against the person	13.3	3.3	10.0	3.8	1.9	1.9	6.7	3.4	3.4	9.7	2.9	6.8
Offences against property involving violence	1.7	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Offences against property not involving violence	5.4	4.1	1.2	3.8	2.8	0.9	6.0	4.0	2.0	8.2	6.3	1.9
Malicious Offences Against Property	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
Offences against currency	1.2	0.8	0.4	2.8	2.3	0.5	1.3	0.7	0.7	1.9	1.9	0.0
Miscellaneous	4.6	2.5	2.1	5.6	3.8	1.9	11.4	8.7	2.7	6.3	4.3	1.9
Total	26.6	11.2	15.4	16.0	10.8	5.2	27.5	18.1	9.4	27.1	15.5	11.6



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